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PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

- I.—*Notes on a Journey from Tabríz, through Persian Kurdistán, to the Ruins of Takhti-Soleimán, and from thence by Zenján and Tárom, to Gilán, in October and November, 1838; with a Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana.* By H. C. RAWLINSON, Bombay-Army, Major serving in Persia. Communicated by Viscount PALMERSTON.

IN the month of October, 1838, I set out from Tabríz, to travel to Gilán, by the route of Persian Kurdistán and Khamseh. My chief object in following this circuitous track was, to obtain data for the identification of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, a city of whose existence I had been long persuaded, but of which, without a correct knowledge of the topographical features of Southern Azerbiján, I could not venture to assign the representative in modern geography. Aware, also, of the incompleteness and, perhaps, of the incorrectness of the maps hitherto published of this part of the country, I was not inattentive to my road-book. With a watch and compass, I observed the distances and magnetic bearings along the entire line as accurately as I was able, and from these I have laid down the route which accompanies my memoir.

October 16th.—I left the British camp, on the south-western outskirts of Tabríz, and rode 7 miles to the village of Sirdárúd, in a general direction of S. 72° W. At 2 miles I passed to the left the little village of Lálá, containing a summer-house and garden, whither the idle Tabrizis repair frequently during the spring and summer, to pass the day in feasting and merriment; there is also a mineral spring near this place, which is supposed to possess certain medicinal properties; the temperature of the water, in summer, is nearly that of the surrounding atmosphere, but, in winter, it retains a considerable degree of warmth, which

has given it the name of I'sí Šú, or the hot water. In former times it was used by the Tabrízís as a bath; a basin was constructed to hold the water, and over this was erected a small square building for the accommodation of the bathers; both these works, however, are at present dilapidated, and there is no appearance of comfort or privacy. The high ground above the spring commands a fine prospect of Tabríz, which, surrounded with a forest of orchards, gives an idea of immense extent. The whole circuit, indeed, of the gardens of Tabríz cannot measure less than 30 miles. The road to Sirdárúd skirts to the left the low hills which form the southern boundary of the great Tabríz plain, and upon the right is seen an immense level flat, stretching away to the margin of the salt lake farther than the eye can trace its features. At this season of the year the plain presented a less desolate appearance than usual, the peasantry being employed in some numbers in sowing their autumn grain, and thus lending a faint glow of animation to the otherwise most dreary scene. Sirdárúd is a flourishing place, situated on a small stream, which flows from Sehend, and gives its name to the village and district. The gardens and orchards which surround it, along the foot of the hills, are of great extent, but still they can afford only a faint idea of the former richness of the district, when the suburbs of Tabríz stretched out as far as this place, and the whole country was covered with such a forest of trees, that it was difficult to distinguish the boundaries of the respective villages.*

17th.—From Sirdárúd I made a stage of 22 miles to the village of Gogán. The road conducts across the plain for 12 miles, in a general direction of S.W., to the village of Ilkhújí, the low hills to the left running along at an average distance of about 1 mile, and the great plain, as before, to the right, stretching down to the shores of the lake. Along this tract, the plain is cultivated throughout, and many villages are seen scattered about. One of these, situated in a glade of the hills to the left, at the distance of 8 miles from Sirdárúd, is of considerable extent; it is named Khosraú Sháh, and is one of those many happy spots along the skirts of Sehend enjoying, at all seasons, a most delightful climate, and owing its fertility to the streams of this most beneficent of mountains.

The vale of Khosraú Sháh, as far as the eye can reach up among the hills, is one mass of groves and gardens, and almost realises the picture of sylvan beauty which is described by the geographers, and which caused the spot to be associated, in former times, with the four other paradises of Persian poetry—the valley of the Soghd, at Samarkand; the Ghúṭah, or plain of

* See Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb.

Damascus; the Sha'abi-Bowán, near Kal'eh Sofid, in Fárs; and the glade of Máshán-rúd, at Hamadán.*

Khosraú Sháh is included by Abúlfedá in his catalogue of the cities of Azerbáján, and would seem, therefore, anciently, to have been a place of far greater consequence than at present.

Iłkhíjı, where I breakfasted in a vineyard, is an inconsiderable village, to the left of the road; the name is misprinted Itk'his in Colonel Monteith's map of Azerbáján.

At 1 mile from this place the road leads round a long point of the low hills, called by the Tabrízis Linzí Búrnı, and then stretches across a flat open chemen (meadow-land) in a direction of S. 20° W. for 9 miles, to the village of Gogán. At the point of the hill the road divides, one track turning off to the left, and running along at the foot of the hills to Dekergán (properly Dehı-Kherkán, or Dehı-Khwárkán), the capital of the district, and the other, which I followed, conducting direct to Gogán.

Gogán is one of a cluster of villages dependent upon Dekergán, from which it is distant about 5 miles; like all the other places in this part of the country, it is surrounded with a belt of gardens, through which the traveller has to thread his way for above 1 mile before he reaches the hamlet in the centre.

It has suffered much from inundations; twice, within the last ten years, a torrent has come down from the mountains, and swept away all the buildings upon the banks of the little stream that flows through the village, but it seems now to be again in a flourishing condition. That the village has thus rapidly recovered from the destructive effects of the inundations, is owing, doubtless, to the great productiveness of the garden-ground, in the cultivation of which its inhabitants are exclusively engaged; and which, of all kinds of agriculture, is alone able to bear up against such evils under the withering influence of Persian administration. To show the superiority of this branch of agriculture over the usual cultivation of grain, I may remark that in Azerbáján, where alone taxation, in Persia, is so systematised as to afford any data for general estimates, the government assessment upon a village will be found to average five tó máns each family; while, in those cases where the labour of a village is bestowed solely upon the care of fruit-trees and plantations, the assessment rises as high as eight, or even nine tó máns each family, and the peasantry at the same time is usually found to be in a more thriving condition than their neighbours. From Gogán, Dekergán, and the adjacent villages, the only exports are fruit and timber for the Tabríz market. The fruits consist of peaches, nectarines, apricots, plums of all sorts, cherries, pears, apples, and grapes; and the planta-

* See Noz-hetu-l-Kólúb, in the account of Tabríz.

tions are chiefly of poplar and chinár (the oriental plane), the usual materials employed for the wood-work of Persian building. The gardens of this district are mostly the property of Tabríz merchants, who have either planted or purchased them on speculation; they pay the government tax of a panábád* upon each tenáf (a square measure of about eighteen English yards), and for the labour of cultivation, they either allow the villagers a fifth of the produce, or hire them at the rate of 6*d.* a day for each man employed. The expenses of irrigation, either by wells or aqueducts, fall, of course, on the proprietor.

Gogán is a place of no antiquity, but Dekergán,† the capital of the district, occurs in all the old Arabic itineraries, and would seem to be as ancient, or even more so, than Tabríz itself. In modern times, it is chiefly celebrated as the scene of conference between General Count Paskevich and the Prince Royal of Persia, after the occupation of Tabríz by the Russians.

18*th.*—At the distance of 1 mile after leaving Gogán, the road enters a chain of low barren hills, and at 3 miles further rejoins the high road, which turned off to the left, as I have already mentioned, at Linzí Búrní, and conducted through Dekergán. From hence 6 miles among the hills lead to the marble pits, lying a few hundred yards to the right of the road, at the entrance of an inconsiderable plain, which here stretches up from the lake, and forms a sort of open bay among the prongs of the Sehend range. These pits are well deserving of examination by the geologist. They extend over a space of about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile in circumference, are small and irregular, and do not appear to have been ever sunk above 10 or 12 feet in depth; the sides are cut perpendicularly, and in the section thus exposed the strata of marble may be seen running in parallel and horizontal layers, the first occurring at about five or six feet below the surface,‡ and the succeeding strata at intervals of about 2 feet; the average breadth of the layer of marble may be 7 or 8 inches.

A multitude of springs, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid gas, are seen bubbling up among the pits in all directions. On the escape of the gas, a copious deposit is left of carbonate of lime, and the channels in which the waters run are thus raised up into little rocky ridges, varying in height from 1 to 2 feet above the plain. The marble is, I conclude, the semi-crystalline formation of this deposit, though why it should thus form only in thin horizontal layers, several feet beneath the surface, may be

* A Persian coin of the value of 6*d.* The name is given from the town of Penáhábád in Karábágh, where the coin was first struck, about fifty years ago, by Penáh Khán.

† Yákúti, in the *Mo'jemo-l Beldán*, writes the name Dehí Kherján, and says that it was called after Kherján, the treasurer of Kesrá Anúshírwán.

‡ The formation above the marble is ordinary calcareous tufa in thin layers.

perhaps an interesting subject of inquiry. There is no work, at present, going on in the quarries; but I saw a great number of slabs cut out and squared, lying ready for removal. It is well known that this Marághah marble is highly valued in Persia; when formed into thin plates, it is nearly transparent, and is used for windows to the baths at Tabríz. In larger slabs, it is also frequently employed for pavement to baths and palaces, and the famous throne in the Dîwán Kháneh, at Teherán, is formed of the same material. There is a small village at this place called Dáshkesen, inhabited by labourers who work the quarries. The direction from Gogán is about S. 18° W.

From the pits the road strikes across the little plain due S. for 2 miles, having the village of Sherámín to the left, and that of Khánigáh to the right, and then again winds among low hills for 8 miles, till it descends into the spacious plain which extends round the south-eastern angle of the lake. Here the road again divides, the great caravan route clinging to the hills upon the left, and the other road, which I followed, striking down into the plain to the village of Shíshewán, distant from this point about 4 miles, in a direction of S. 16° E.

This part of the country, between the hills and the lake, is in a high state of cultivation, and is covered with villages. A rich loamy soil, abundance of water, and a climate little subject to the rigours of winter, offer advantages to husbandry that, thus united, are rarely to be met with in Persia. The chief place in the vicinity is Shíráz, a name which is sometimes employed to denote the whole dependent district; this, however, is more properly called Dezziyá-rúd, from the title of the stream that waters it. The greater part of the lands are crown property, and have been granted in Tiyúl* to the family of Abú-l Fet-h Khán, a chief of some consequence in Kárábágh; they are calculated to yield, annually, about 5000 tó máns of crown revenue, though this sum is far below what is really drawn from them.

Shíshewán, where I made my stage for the day, is alone excluded from the grant. It belongs to Melik Kásim Mírzá, a son of the late Sháh of Persia, and is, perhaps, one of the most interesting places to be found in Azerbiján. The prince, who has built himself a palace in the European style near the village, and who usually resides here, is quite a character. To great intelligence and enterprise he unites a singular taste for the habits of European life, and the cultivation of many useful arts which

* Tiyúl is a grant of the crown revenues of any town or district; the individual receiving the grant is usually intrusted with its realization, though not necessarily so. The grant also extends only to his own life-time, unless otherwise specified. It is calculated that about a fifth of the whole land-revenue of Persia is, at present, thus alienated from the crown.

belong to European civilization. Possessing grants of land from the crown, which yield him from 10,000 to 12,000 *tómáns* a-year,* he has a sufficient fortune to enable him to gratify these tastes to a very considerable extent; and Shíshewán is thus rapidly assuming the appearance of an European settlement. In one place may be seen a kennel of dogs; in another, a farm-yard stocked with all sorts of poultry, partridges, pheasants, and water-fowl; in another, a pigsty; a range of buildings in another quarter is occupied by a party of Russian tradesmen,—tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, &c., working at their different callings; but the most interesting objects are the experimental establishments which the prince has set up under his immediate inspection, for the purpose of introducing the improvements of European science, and which, under the encouragement of an enlightened government, might be formed into a nursery of useful arts that would tend greatly to benefit the commercial resources of the country: among these are his mulberry-garden and silk establishment, his glass foundry, pottery, manufactory of white wax, and looms for weaving a variety of cotton, silk, and worsted goods. Perhaps the chance of ultimate benefit would be greater, if he would be content to devote his attention to any one particular object—the production of silk, for instance—where a little care in the preparation, and a system of reeling adapted to the English market, would soon establish the superiority of his produce over the material now exported, and thus induce the merchants of Gílán rapidly to adopt his improvements; but, as his own object is amusement, rather than profit, it can hardly be expected that he would thus sacrifice his varied pleasures for the attainment of one great commercial end.

I found his hobby, at the time of my visit to Shíshewán, to be shipbuilding; and a simple statement of the manner in which he pursued it will serve far better to illustrate his character than pages of general description. The lake of Urumiyah is only a mile distant from his palace; and this convenience of position first led him to think of navigating it. He forthwith applied to his nephew, the Sháh, for the high admiralty of the lake, and a monopoly of the right of sailing on it. This was granted; and some half-dozen tubs that belonged to the different villages along the shores were accordingly seized and broken up. The prince then set to work to replace them with proper boats. Russian workmen were procured from the ports on the Caspian, and a number of small craft were shortly launched, rude enough, certainly, but still far superior to the crazy tubs that had been formerly in use. This was but the first step, however: the prince

* Two *tómáns* may always be reckoned equal to a pound sterling.

now determined to have a ship upon the lake. He got a master-shipwright from Bākúbá; hired a number of carpenters to work under him; bought timber and the necessary materials; built forges and workshops; pitched a small tent for himself on the salt shore, where he remained day and night watching the progress of the labour; and in two months from the time of setting about it he positively launched a vessel upon the lake, of about 100 tons burthen, and unfurled his pendant from the mast-head as lord high admiral of his little sea. This vessel he intends employing upon a carrying trade between the different villages upon the lake; and I do not doubt but that he will soon reimburse himself for the outlay. Elated with his first essay, he now aims at higher things, and will not rest satisfied till he can run up and down the lake in a steam-boat. There is certainly no ordinary degree of enterprise and perseverance required in a country like Persia to work out an object to an end, as Melik Kásim Mírzá is now doing in the case I have detailed; and though the establishment of a steam-boat on the lake of Urumíyah may be the mere gratification of a private taste, still, as a trait of character, it is, I think, worthy of record, and, as a means of drawing the attention of Persia to naval matters, and from thence to the maritime resources of her Caspian provinces, it may not, perhaps, also be devoid of eventual benefit to the country.

The lake of Urumíyah has been so often described that it need not long delay us. The geographical outline is laid down with tolerable accuracy in Colonel Monteith's map. It extends above a degree of latitude in length, and is about a third of that distance in extreme breadth. The greatest depth of water that is found in any part is 4 fathoms; the average is about 2 fathoms; but the shores shelve so gradually that this depth is rarely attained within 2 miles of the land. The specific gravity of the water, from the quantity of salt which it retains in solution, is great; so much so, indeed, that the prince's vessel, of 100 tons burthen, when loaded, is not expected to have more draught than 3 or 4 feet at utmost. This heaviness of the water also prevents the lake from being much affected by storms, which, from its extreme shallowness, would otherwise render its navigation dangerous. A gale of wind can raise the waves but a few feet; and, as soon as the storm has passed, they subside again into their deep, heavy, death-like sleep. It is an old opinion that the waters of the lake are too salt to support animal life. Geographers of ancient and modern days all combine in the assertion; but though fish, certainly, and the larger aquatic species, are not to be found in it, yet the prince assured me that, in his voyages, he had repeatedly met with the smaller class of zoophytes, and those too in considerable numbers.

There is also a common tradition in the country that the lake

has greatly encroached upon its original extent. The low shelving shore, which now stretches far into the water, is supposed, at no very remote period, to have been dry land; and the increase of the waters is explained by the disembogement of the great rivers Jaghatú and Tátátú, which were formerly absorbed in the irrigation of the plain of Miyándáb. Another proof adduced in support of this opinion is, the submersion of a causeway, which is believed to have formerly crossed the lake from Urumíyah to Bínáb; and at the same time, as this extraordinary work has been altogether unnoticed by former travellers, I may here mention upon what evidence the belief in its existence depends.

I first heard of the causeway from an Afshár chief of Urumíyah. He declared to me that some thirty years ago he was ordered, on business of consequence, to communicate with Ahmed Khán of Marághah. The Bilbás Kurds, the common enemy of the Afshár and Mokeddem tribes, had possession of the whole country along the southern shores of the lake; and it was thus impossible to pass by the usual route. At the same time the tubs which were employed by the villagers to cross from one side to the other were none of them at hand, so he had no resource but to trust to an old guide, who promised to conduct him across the ruined causeway. He made the attempt, and actually passed across, between daylight and dark, the line of the bank being visible, as he declared, the whole way, from a slight change in the colour of the water. He described it as a raised bank of earth, some 10 or 15 feet in breadth, over which the usual depth of water was about 2 feet, and never more than 4 feet. I heard stories about the bank subsequently from many people living on the shores of the lake; and, in my present visit to Shíshewán, I was curious to learn from the prince if it actually existed at the present time. In reply to my inquiries the prince told me that he had frequently sailed over its supposed line, but had never been able to observe it; that the tradition of its former existence, however, was universal; and that some years ago a party of horsemen from Urumíyah actually attempted to follow it; but several of them were lost in the lake, and the others returned; since which time no one has ventured on the passage. The people believe that the earth has gradually crumbled away before the action of the water; and that at present there is no such thing as a continued bank. If such a causeway did ever exist in reality, it must have been of the most remote antiquity, dating, perhaps, from the Median or Assyrian monarchs, who could alone have planned and executed a work of such gigantic labour.

The comparative geography of the lake has been well illustrated by Saint Martin, the historian of Armenia. He has ingeniously conjectured that the name Spauta that is applied to it

in our present MSS. of Strabo is an error of some ancient copyist for Kaputa, a word which answers to the Armenian Gaboid, and Persian Kabúd, signifying blue; and which, in allusion to the colour of the water, is the title usually assigned to it by the Oriental geographers. To Saint Martin's account I have only to add that, under the Moghul dynasty, the lake seems to have been named indifferently Khojest* (a word which I am unable to explain); and the salt sea of Tezúch, from the town of that name at its northern extremity; and I may also correct his orthography of the names of the two great rivers which empty themselves into it. These, from the printed copy of the Jehán Numá he gives as Tchefteh and Tefou.† The names, in reality, are Jaghatú and Taghatú, the last having been softened into its present pronunciation of Tátáú.

The islands in the lake until lately were barren and uninhabited: Melik Kásim Mírzá has recently colonised the largest, which he names Maral;‡ and he proposes in time to form settlements upon all of them.

19th.—I passed this day at Shíshewán, examining the prince's establishment, and giving him such information and assistance as I was able in his various objects of pursuit. His acquaintance with European languages is extensive. Of French he is a perfect master; and in English and Russian he converses with much fluency. His habits of domestic life are also entirely European: he wears European clothes, breakfasts and dines in the European style; and, as far as regards himself, has adopted our manners, to the minutest point of observance; and this singular transition—a change which a person accustomed to the contrasts of European and Oriental life can alone appreciate—has arisen entirely from his own unbiassed choice, and without his having had either means or inducement to effect it beyond his occasional intercourse with European society at Tabriz.

Shíshewán, I confess, presents a phenomenon in social life, which I should little have expected to meet with in Persia; and when I reflect that moral development can alone proceed from an improvement in the social condition, I fervently hope that the prince may have many imitators, and that a brighter day may thus be opening upon Persia.

20th.—From Shíshewán I travelled 13 miles to Bínáb, in a direction of S. 26 E. The village of 'Ajab Shehr,§ is distant

* For some curious particulars regarding this name, Khojest, or, perhaps, Chejest, see my Memoir, pp. 79, 80.

† See Saint Martin, "Recherches sur l'Arménie," tom. i. pp. 56-61.

‡ He gave it this name from a pair of maral (the wild red deer of Persia), which were the first living beings he placed upon the island.

§ Literally, "the wonderful city."

scarcely $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from Shíshewán, and Kháníyán, which is the usual halting-place for Káfilahs, is again about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile beyond. Leaving these places to the left, at 2 miles, I crossed the stream of Dezziyá-rúd—this river rises high up among the ravines of Sehend, and at the distance of 2 farsakhs, before it debouches into the plain there is a ruined castle, which would be worth examining; it is named Tásh Kál'eh,* and, from the accounts I have received of it, I conclude it to be a work of the Sasanian ages. A great number of aqueducts are derived from the stream of Dezziyá-rúd, which fertilise the surrounding lands, and below Shíshewán a dam has been built across the bed of the river which throws the remainder of the waters into other canals, employed also for irrigation. The staple produce of the plain is cotton, rice, wheat, and barley. At the distance of 2 miles from the river, the road quits the cultivated plain, and leads over a narrow barren tract, between the hills and the lake, till it approaches to the edge of a salt morass, inundated in the spring, when the waters of the lake rise to their highest level; here the road to Marághah strikes off to the left, along the skirts of the hills, passing close under the singular Mithraic caves, which have been described by Kinneir. The route to Bínáb conducts along a raised causeway, through the salt morass; and, at times, is almost impassable from the mud and sloughs. At this season, however, it was perfectly dry.

Bínáb is a considerable town, containing about 1,500 houses, and surrounded for many miles, in all directions, with orchards and vineyards. The mildness of climate that it enjoys from the neighbourhood of the lake, renders it most favourable to the cultivation of the grape, vast quantities of which are raised and exported to Tabríz. The streets are clean, and, from the greater part of them having a stream of water flowing down the centre, the place possesses some resemblance to Khói, decidedly the neatest and cleanest town in Persia: there are, also, a bázár, and several good Caravanserais. Bínáb forms a dependency of Marághah, paying 4000 tó máns of revenue, and furnishing a quota of 400 men to the Ažerbiján army, an obligation fully equivalent to the amount of actual taxation. Abundance of water is found at a few feet beneath the surface, and the vineyards are thus all provided with wells for irrigation. The river of Marághah, called Šofí Chái, properly Šáfi, flows, also, along the southern outskirts of the gardens, and numerous canals are derived from it, which contribute to water the town and vineyards. Bínáb is a settlement of modern times, and does not appear in any of the Oriental geographers.

* Pronounced Dásh Kál'eh, literally, "the stone castle."

21st.—From Bínáb I travelled a distance of 20 miles, to Chillik, a village of Melik Kásim Mírzá's, on the Tátáú river; beyond the gardens I crossed the Sofí Chái, by a good bridge, and from thence, passing over a cultivated tract, for 2 miles, reached the point of hill which forms the northern boundary of the great Míyándáb plain; here I quitted the high road, and struck off by a bye track, in a direction of S.W. by S. to Chillik. At 5 miles farther, I crossed the Jaghatú, a paltry stream, at this time containing scarcely a foot's depth of water, and running in a direction of N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., and beyond this, at 3 miles, I dismounted at the little village of Kemchik, to breakfast. Along the course of the Jaghatú, there are several villages, but the other parts of the plain are bare, and uninhabited; and, with the exception of an occasional patch of castor oil-plant, there is no trace of cultivation. The title of Míyándáb, contracted from Miyándú-áb, applies, properly, to the country between the two rivers of Jaghatú, and Tátáú, but, in its common acceptation, it includes the whole extent of this vast plain, as well to the N. of the one as to the S. of the other. The soil throughout is extremely rich, and, at the upper end of the plain, where many streams descend from the mountains to the N. and E., and the higher level of the beds of the two great rivers, affords facilities for irrigation: cultivation is abundant; but, as the plain slopes down gradually to the shores of the lake, the Jaghatú and Tátáú wear themselves into deeper channels, the difficulty of raising the water into artificial ducts increases and the greater part of the land is thus allowed to run waste, serving, at best, but for the winter pasturage of the flocks belonging to the Mokeddem, and Mikrí I'liyát. A dam, thrown across either of the rivers, to raise the water to the level of the plain, would convert its whole surface into arable ground, and would, probably, soon repay the expense of its construction; but a work of this kind would need to be of gigantic character to resist the tremendous force of the spring currents, and would thus far exceed the means of any private individual. The government, indeed, might undertake it with advantage; but, in the apathetic and narrow-minded views that pervade all Persian administration, it is vain to look for the execution of any work that has mere prospective benefit to recommend it.

At 8 miles from Kemchik I reached the banks of the Tátáú, and crossed it, by a shallow ford, to the village of Chillik, upon the other side. Chillik forms one of a cluster of villages S. of the Tátáú, belonging to Melik Kásim Mírzá; the district is irrigated by canals from the river, and its flourishing appearance bears the most honourable testimony to the enterprise of the proprietor. The prince also hopes to be able to draw the great

caravan route which now passes through Merhemet-ábád, to this place; and, if he succeeds, the village will rapidly rise into consequence. In the spring, when the rivers Tátáú and Jaghatú are swollen by the melting of the snows, they remain unfordable for many months together; and all caravans and travellers at that season, have hitherto been obliged to cross upon the crazy rafts, formed by the government of Merhemet-ábád: for these the prince has now substituted, at Chillik, commodious ferry-boats, which he works, gratis, for the public accommodation; and, although the passage at this place will cause a circuit of some miles, I do not doubt but that it will soon become the great thoroughfare.

After an hour's rest at Chillik, I set out in search of a most interesting object of antiquity, which I had heard of in the neighbourhood. This was the Cuneiform inscription of Tâsh Teppeh, an isolated hillock in the plain, distant 5 miles from Chillik, in a direction of S. 30 E. On reaching the spot I found the teppeh to be of an irregular shape, 350 paces in circumference at the base, and, as well as I could judge, from 50 to 60 feet above the level of the plain—it is formed of a projection of limestone above the soil, lying in strata nearly perpendicular; the whole face of the hillock, fronting Chillik, thus presents a series of smooth surfaces, adapted to the engraving of sculptures or inscriptions; and upon one of these natural tablets I found the object of my search. The inscription is about 35 inches square, and consists of 21 lines, written in the Median alphabet, somewhat modified from the form which it exhibits on the tablets of Bisitún, Hamadán, and Persepolis; it is deplorably mutilated—the rock being liable, from the direction of the strata, to chip off in large flakes, so that the greater part of the writing is thus altogether destroyed. I conclude that the hillock was anciently surmounted by a fire-temple, and that the purport of the inscription is religious; but it is, I fear, in too imperfect a state to admit of any correct version. There is, at present, a little mud enclosure upon the summit of the teppeh, which has been used as a place of defence; and within this is a mound of earth, the relic of some ancient building; but neither brick, nor glazed pottery, nor any other evidence of antiquity is to be found; and were it not for the inscription cut upon the rock, there would be nothing whatever to awaken curiosity. Below the teppeh are a few broken mounds which seem to mark the site of a village.

The present village of Tâsh Teppeh is at the distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile beyond the hillock, but it is a miserable hamlet, and a traveller wishing to visit the place should make his stage at Yeláli, a large village belonging to the prince, only a mile distant on the road to Chillik.

After taking a copy of the inscription, I galloped back to Chillik, where I arrived at dark.

22nd.—At Chillik I procured a guide to conduct me to Ushnei, to which place I was proceeding, in order to copy another inscription that I had heard of in the vicinity. For 10 miles I traversed the Miyándáb plain, in a direction of S. 53 W., the road lying, for the greater part of the way, through a dense mass of reeds and high grass, which it was not easy to penetrate. In the spring, this tract, I learnt, is an impassable morass, fed by the Só-új Bólák river, which, at other seasons, loses itself in a lake, about 10 miles distant, and does not reach the Miyándáb plain; the Só-új Bólák river never, at any time, joins the Tátáú, as laid down in Colonel Monteith's map.

At last, having fairly crossed the Miyándáb plain, we entered some low hills, which reach down nearly to the lake, and crossed into the district of Soldúz: the country, hereabouts, is tolerably fertile, and though belonging, geographically, to Soldúz, the villages are all inhabited by Mikrí Kurds, and pay their revenue, for the greater part, to the Mikrí chiefs of Só-új Bólák. A far-sakh among the hills brought us into the plain of Soldúz; and we then turned up W. by N. through a rich and highly cultivated country, till, at the end of 3 hours' ride, we halted for the day at 'Alí Beglí, a large village upon the river Gáder.

In our maps of Azerbáján we usually find a town of the name of Soldúz, at the southern extremity of the lake, but this is an error; Soldúz is the name of the district; a plain stretching nearly E. and W., parallel to the southern shores of the lake, from which it is divided by a low range of hills, and measuring about 20 miles in length and 5 miles in breadth. It is certainly the best watered and the most fertile plain which I have seen in Azerbáján—I think, I may say, in Persia: the river Gáder flows down the centre; and from this are derived vast numbers of canals, which irrigate as much land as is required for cultivation. It is held, at present, by a party of the Kará-pápá tribe, on a military tenure of rather a singular character. This Turkish tribe, who have a very high reputation for courage, and skill in horsemanship, and who had been settled, for a great length of time, in Georgia, sought refuge with 'Abbás Mírzá during the last Russian war. The prince received them with open arms; and, to reward so rare an instance of fidelity, immediately made over to them the district of Soldúz, for the maintenance of the chiefs and their followers. The government assessment on Soldúz was, at that time, 12,000 tó máns; and the whole of this sum was granted them in Tiyúl, on condition of their furnishing a body of 400 horse to the crown, whenever called upon; but Ahmed Khán, of Marághah, in whose government Soldúz was formerly included,

had drawn from it nearly 30,000 tomans annually; and the Kará-pápás, when once fairly installed in their new possessions, rather increased than abated the revenue.

The Kará-pápás numbered about 800 houses, and they found at Soldúz 4000 or 5000 families of ra'yyahs, chiefly Kurds, of the Mikrí, Mámish, and Zerbá tribes, with a few Mokeddem Turks, who were employed in the cultivation of the soil. Since their location in this favoured spot, they have been also able to buy the proprietorship of the greater portion of the lands, and thus have gone on increasing in wealth and prosperity, till, at the present day, there is certainly no tribe in Persia that can compete with them in comfort and independence. Free from all the evils and annoyances which attend the government realization of revenue, the chiefs reside each in their respective villages, with their military retainers around them, engaged in their agricultural pursuits, and feeding on the fat of the land: but still, wherever I stopped to inquire, I could not find that there was any amelioration in the condition of the peasantry. "What does it signify to us," said the poor Kurdish ra'yyahs, "whether the Kará-pápás, or the Mokeddems, or the Tabrízis, govern Soldúz? We labour hard every day of the year, and we can still only just get bread to keep our wives and children from starving, going about, ourselves, barefoot and in rags, as you see us:" and such is, I suspect, really the fact. In all cases in Persia, except among the tribes where the chief and clansmen feel a mutual interest in each other's welfare, the cultivator of the land is worked and taxed to the utmost limit which he can bear: in ordinary cases he has to satisfy the demands of the government and the rapacity of his immediate master: here he is subject to the same extortion; the only difference being that the whole sum goes into the pocket of the chief. However, to a traveller passing through the plain of Soldúz, it appears a magnificent district—extensive meadows, pasturing at least 1000 mares; herds of buffaloes, cows, and sheep grazing in all directions; rice ground sufficient for sowing 1000 kherwárs* of rice; and which, being, as I was told, only half cultivated, still yields at a tenfold return, 5000 kherwárs annually, worth upwards of 20,000 tó máns; and a crowd of villages, with a teeming peasantry, all combine to give an air of life and prosperity to the scene, that is rarely to be met with in Persia.

The capital of Soldúz is Nákhodeh, a large village at the foot of an immense teppeh (artificial as it appeared to me), upon which is a quadrangular fort, with eight bastions, the strong place of the district. Here Mehdí Khán, the chief of the Kará-pápás, resides; and this is the place, I conclude, which appears in the

* The kherwár is about 640 lbs., and the average value of a kherwár of rice in Azerbiján, may be taken at 4 tó máns.

Syriac annals, under the name of Solduz; and which was long the see of a Christian bishop, under the metropolitan of Urumíyah.* I cannot trace Soldúz in Oriental Geography; indeed, the name would seem to be a Turkish imposition, and probably only dates from the Seljukians. The historian of the Kurds † states that, in the fifteenth century, it was wrested from the Kizil-báshes, ‡ by Pír Bodaḡ, the first leader of the Bábán tribe; and shortly afterwards, when the Mikrís rose into power, it fell under their sway, and formed one of their most valuable possessions. It remained with the Mikrís until modern times, and even, at present, by far the greater number of the inhabitants are of that tribe.

There are about sixty villages scattered over the plain, and they appear larger and in a more flourishing condition than those of the neighbouring districts. The chief places, after Nákhodeh, are Kelátán, at the N.W. extremity of the plain, Chiyáneh, Fer-rokhzád, 'Alí Beglí, and Derbend, upon the Ushneí frontier.

23rd.—I moved to-day from 'Alí Beglí to Ushneí:§ the road led, for 10 miles, along the foot of the hills, which bound the Soldúz plain to the southward; and then, ascending the brow of a little prong that juts out and forms its western limit, overlooked the fertile and secluded district of Ushneí. The view from this point was noble in the extreme. The great Kurdistán mountains bound the district to the W., bearing here the same stern character of grandeur and elevation which they possess in their whole line of prolongation from Taurus, and dwarfing all the other ranges that intersect the face of the country. The boundary of snow which clothed their rocky summits was marked, as if with the precision of a drawn line; and at the foot of the range was to be seen the little town of Ushneí, smiling among its gardens and orchards, and offering a strange contrast to the savage wildness of the mountain rampart above it. The town was distant from this pass, which is called Āli-Heremí, about 10 miles, in a direction of N. 75° W. Riding over the intervening plain, I at once became aware that I had fairly entered Kurdistán. In Soldúz there were many MikrÍ ra'yyáhs; but, under Turkish masters, the Kurds lose their great national characteristics, and are not always distinguishable from the Turkish or Persian peasantry: here the change was marked and universal—for the ragged and sombre-looking blue Kedek || dress, and the old felt or sheep-skin cap, I

* Assemani, tom. iv., p. 423.

† In the *Tárikhi-Akrád*.

‡ Kizil Básh, or Red-head, is applied by the Kurds to all foreigners, Persian as well as Turkish.

§ I use the uniform orthography of Ushneí to represent the modern pronunciation, for the name is written in so many different ways by the Orientals, that it is impossible to say which is the correct one.

|| A Persian cotton-manufacture, which is worn by all classes, from the king to the peasant.

now saw the gay striped turban, the stout legging, and the many-coloured vest. The Turk wears a long broad dagger at his waist; the Kurd, a sword; or, if mounted, he usually carries a spear: the physiognomy, too, is quite distinct. Among the Turks of *Azerbáján* the usual cast of countenance is sullen, inanimate, and with no expression but that of dogged determination: the features of the Kurd betoken intelligence, cheerfulness, and independence; and the light elastic step of the one contrasts strongly with the dull and heavy, but still untiring pace of the other.

The acting governor of *Ushneï*, *Ghafúr Khán*, to whom I had brought letters of introduction, was absent from the town; but I was most hospitably received by his family, and treated with every possible kindness and attention.

The district of *Ushneï* has been little visited by Europeans, and merits therefore a short description. Situated at the foot of the great *Kurdistán* mountains, and surrounded on other sides by an amphitheatre of lower hills, it occupies a natural basin of small extent, but of great beauty and fertility. The river *Gáder*, debouching from the mountains by a deep and precipitous gorge, bisects the plain; and numerous other streams which descend from the same hills, supply the means of irrigation most abundantly throughout the district. The plain is irregularly shaped; its extreme length and breadth being about 10 miles, and the little town of *Ushneï* is upon the rise of the mountains, near its north-western extremity: there are about forty other villages dispersed over the adjacent country. The inhabitants are Kurds, of the tribe of *Zerzá*, now reduced to about 800 houses; but numbering, before the plague which some years ago attacked this part of *Azerbáján* with unusual severity, between 4000 and 5000 families. The town of *Ushneï* alone, 10 years ago, was estimated to contain 1000 houses; at present there are not above 200. There are also at *Ushneï* about 500 families of refugees, composed of 300 *Mikrí*, 100 *Bilbás*, and 100 families, offsets from the various clans of Turkish *Kurdistán*. *Ushneï* forms a dependency of the government of *Urumíyeh*, and pays an annual revenue of 4000 *tóman*s. The *Zerzás*, however, in common with all the Kurds, are of the *Sonní* religion; and thus, differing in language, in manners, and in faith from their *Afshár* masters, submit impatiently to their dominion. They are a remarkably fine, active, and athletic race, and are, perhaps, the most warlike of the many warlike clans who inhabit this part of Persia. From their exposed position, indeed, upon the immediate frontier of Turkish *Kurdistán*, they are constantly engaged in frays with the wild tribes who inhabit the neighbouring mountains; and I saw several of the chiefs who wore their shirts of mail day and night, and always kept their horses ready saddled, not knowing at what

moment they might be called on to sally forth and repel a foray. Their common weapon is the spear, and they are loth to give it up; but finding that the mountain clans with whom they engage have almost universally adopted the use of fire-arms, they are beginning gradually to follow their example. In every copy that I have consulted of the Sheref Námeh, the chapter on the Zerzâs is omitted, and I am thus unable to glean any particulars as to their ancient history. In the chapter of contents prefixed to that history, Ushneï is alluded to as a possession of the Berádúst tribe; but in the body of the work there is a different arrangement, and I do not doubt but that the name should properly be assigned to the Zerzâ tribe, which follows soon after that of Berádúst Láhijân, or Lárijân, as the name is written in the Sheref Námeh, was also, at one time, in possession of the Zerzâs, and was taken from them in the fifteenth century by Pír Bodâk, who established the dominion of the Bábân tribe; the present rulers of Soleimáníyeh, from the shores of the lake of Urumíyeh to Kerkúk, on the frontiers of the Baghdád Páshálik.

Ushneï was one of the early Christian settlements of Azerbájân. A bishop of this province is said to have been ordained by the first Jacobite Primate of the East, about A.D. 630;* and in the tenth century we find a Christian monk coming from Osna, a town of Azerbájân, and founding a convent of Sergius; afterwards much celebrated in the East.† The institution of a Nestorian Church in Azerbájân appears to have taken place during the thirteenth century, shortly after Holákú had made Tabriz his capital; and in A.D. 1281, when the Uighúr monk, Jaballa, was nominated by the Moghul Emperor to be Nestorian Catholicus, Abraham, Bishop of Ushneï, attended at his installation.‡ This Abraham was probably one of the first Nestorian Bishops of Azerbájân; certainly the first of that Church who presided at Ushneï; and I conclude that a shrine near the village of Sirgân, named Déiri-Sheikh Ibrâhîm, which is frequented as a place of pilgrimage by all the Nestorians of the province, marks his place of sepulture. The ignorant Nestorians of the present day pretend that Sheikh Ibrâhîm was a follower of the Apostles; and assert that the shrine contains a record of his death in the first century of Christ, engraved in ancient Syriac: but I narrowly searched the place, and there is certainly no inscription whatever in any part of it. The present building, indeed, scarcely appears

* Assemani, tom. ii., De Syris Monoph. under the head Harnua.

† Asseman. tom. ii., p. 350.

‡ Asseman. tom. ii., p. 456. I find that 10 years previous to this in A.D. 1271, Denha, the Nestorian Catholicus, had removed the Metropolitan seat from Assyria to Ushneï, to be nearer the protection of the Moghul Court. Abraham was probably at that time Bishop of the diocese. See Greg. Bar. Heb. Chron. Syriac, vol. ii., p. 573.

as old as the thirteenth century, but it may have been re-edified in modern times ; and the sacred character which the first Bishop would naturally acquire as the founder of a new Church seems to account for the veneration that is paid to the shrine.

From the time of the Moghuls the Christian Church of Persia has alone flourished in the province of *Azerbiján*. *Selmás* and *Urumíyah* have been the two great ecclesiastical settlements, and *Ushneí*, as a dependency of the latter, is said to have preserved her line of Bishops as late as the last century. At present there are only nine families of Nestorians resident in the town ; and these, the last poor remnant of the *Ushneí* Church, talk of soon emigrating to *Urumíyah*.

The tradition of the country regarding *Ushneí* is singular. The Kurds apply to it the name of *Shári Sebá*, and believe it to have been the place from whence *Belkís*, the queen of *Sheba*, went to visit the great monarch and magician of the East, at his palace of *Takhti Soleimán*. At that time, they say, the city spread itself over the entire plain ; and they assert, that at the present day, whenever they have occasion to excavate, to any considerable depth, in any part of the district, they invariably come upon the massive brick remains of the ancient buildings. That the plain was formerly very populous, may be inferred from the number of artificial mounds that are scattered over its surface ; but that it ever contained any great capital, I regard as a mere fable ; for in ancient geography, there is no site that will accord with it in name or position ; and even the early Arabs are altogether silent respecting it. *Ushneí* is alone mentioned by *Hamdu-lleh Mostaúfí*, in the 14th century ; and he merely describes it as a small town, pleasantly situated among the hills, at the distance of one stage, S.W. of *Urumíyah*, and possessing about twenty dependent villages.*

24th.—To-day I left the town of *Ushneí*, and proceeded to the fort which *Ghafúr Khán*, acting governor of the district, was employed in building on the rise of the mountains, where the great *Kurdistán* road opens upon the plain. The distance was 7 miles, and direction S. 60 W. At three miles I stopped to breakfast at the village of *Sirgán*, a cluster of wretched huts, surrounding a large artificial *teppéh*, upon the summit of which one of the *Zerzá* chiefs has recently erected a strong mud fort. In this place I believe that I recognise the village of *Saragana*, mentioned by *Theophylact*, as the place where *Khosraú Perwíz*, with his Roman auxiliaries, halted to refresh their forces after traversing the country of the *Anisenes*, upon the march from the banks of the greater *Zab* to *Canzaca* ; but I shall endeavour to

* See *Noz-hetu-l Kolúb*.

illustrate the obscure geography of that route in the memoir on Ecbatana ;* it may also possibly represent the Sincar of Ptolemy, which is placed in his Median catalogue, next to Dariausa,† for that name I cannot doubt to be identical with that of the place which is described in the Sheref Náneh, under the title of Dáriyás, as the most considerable of the Mikrí settlements ; and which, though there is no indication of its immediate position in the modern geography of the country must thus necessarily be in the vicinity of Ushneî. The transposition of the *r* and *n* in the name of Sincar will give nearly the modern orthography of Sirgán ; but the identification is of course merely conjectural. About a mile from Sirgán, at the foot of the mountains, is the Deîri-Sheikh Ibráhîm, to which I have already alluded. It is a solitary building, composed of a number of vaulted passages, cells, and oratories ; and, in the innermost recess, is the tomb of the supposed saint : there is no resident guardian of the shrine, but the poor Nestorians, from Ushneî, come out weekly to offer their prayers there ; and at certain seasons it is also visited by crowds of pilgrims. At 2 miles from Sirgán, I crossed the Gáder river, a shallow but rapid stream ; and then, ascending the rise of the mountain for 2 miles farther, reached the fort of Ghafúr Khán. I was anxious to proceed up the mountain at once in search of the inscription, but the day was too far advanced, and I took up my quarters, therefore, in the half-finished fortalice. The Zerzás are at feud with most of the neighbouring tribes—they suffer chiefly, however, from the inroads of the Bilbás and Rewendís, large parties of whom pasture their flocks during the summer along the skirts of the mountains, and make constant forays upon the plain below. These unwelcome neighbours had moved off to their winter grounds a short time before my arrival ; and Ghafúr Khan, having suffered severely from their depredations during the summer, had immediately taken advantage of their absence to run up a small mud fort in the exact line of their inroads, and almost within shot of their most favourite pastures. I found him now straining every nerve to finish his work before the winter set in, as building would be then stopped, and the tribes would probably return in the spring, before he might be able to complete his defences : he had chosen a small garrison of his best fighting men to defend the place, and had put them under the command of a near relation ; and the glee with which he looked forward to the astonishment of the Bilbás at finding on their return this strange apparition of a fort throwing defiance in their very teeth, was really most amusing ;

* See my second Memoir, p. 73 and 74.

† Lib. vi. c. 2.

the occupants, however, will certainly have warm work of it; they must prepare for one continued fight for at least six months.

27th.—After being weather-bound for two days at Ghafúr Khán's fort, I at length set out to attempt the ascent of the mountain, at the summit of which I learnt was the inscription I had come in search of. This place is extremely difficult to reach: during the summer the wild Rewendís cover the face of the mountain, and from the Persian side it would be most hazardous to venture among them under any protection that could be offered; and very shortly after the I'liyát tribes withdraw from the vicinity, the natural obstacles increase to such an extent that it is almost equally dangerous to encounter them. The only times at which the mountain can be ascended in safety are the first fortnight in October, and the last in March. I was now ten days too late in the season, and the Khán strove hard to dissuade me from making the attempt; but as I had come so great a distance for the express purpose, I was determined that nothing should stop me but the absolute impracticability of the ascent.

This morning accordingly, when the weather fortunately cleared, and the wind, which had been blowing furiously for the two preceding days, appeared to have exhausted itself, I set out, attended by two horsemen, well mounted, well wrapped up, and with every defence against the snow-drift, which I was told I should certainly encounter at the summit. For five miles I wound slowly up the face of the mountain, pursuing a broad open track, neither steep nor difficult, along the slope of a huge shoulder which juts out from the great range. At this point I entered the snow, and the difficulties commenced: the ravines which indented the face of the shoulder became, as we ascended higher, choked with snow, and in one of them we narrowly escaped being engulfed. At length, however, alternately riding and walking as the nature of the ground admitted, we reached a more open part of the mountain; and then, pushing rapidly on, gained the summit of the pass, exactly in four hours from leaving the fortress at its foot. The distance I should judge to be about 10 miles, and the direction from the town of Ushneï, the fort lying just in the line, was S. 60 W.

I here found upon a little eminence by the side of the road, and nearly at the highest point of the pass, the famous Keli-Shín, the stories of which had long excited my curiosity. I have already alluded to the danger of traversing this pass—it arises not so much from the depth of snow (for an active mountaineer, by threading his way along the most exposed points, can generally avoid this difficulty), as from the violent and deadly drifts which keep continually sweeping over the face of the mountains during the greater part of the winter months. These drifts come on so

suddenly, and with such terrific fury, that a traveller who is once fairly caught in them will rarely escape, and as at the same time the pass of Keli-Shín is the only line of communication between Persia, and Rowándiz; and parties are thus found at all seasons who are bold enough to attempt to traverse it; but a winter is never known to elapse without several persons being here lost in the snow. From the frequency of these accidents an extraordinary degree of dread and mystery is attached to the pass; and in the superstition of the Kurds, this feeling connects itself with the talisman of the Keli-Shín, which is supposed to have been created by some potent magician, to afford the means of protection against danger, but which, its use being now unknown, only serves to lure fresh victims to destruction. The Keli-Shín is a pillar of dark blue stone,* 6 feet in height, 2 in breadth, and 1 in depth, rounded off at the top and at the angles, and let into a pediment, consisting of one solid block of the same sort of stone, 5 feet square and 2 deep.

On the broad face of the pillar fronting the E. there is a cuneiform inscription of forty-one lines, but no other trace of sculpture or device is to be seen. I had come prepared to take a copy of the inscription; but, much to my regret, I found this now to be quite impracticable. On breaking away the sheet of icicles with which the surface of the stone was covered, the upper half of the inscription was shown to be irrecoverably obliterated, and the lower half also to be so much destroyed that, except under a very favourable aspect of the sun (soon after sun-rise, when the rays would be projected with a slight obliquity on the writing), it would be impossible to distinguish half a dozen consecutive letters: an impression on moist paper was also of course impracticable, when the thermometer stood at 20 degrees below freezing point; so I could do nothing more than copy a few characters, to determine the class of writing to which the inscription belongs, and measure the dimensions of the pillar; and even in this I was much hurried by the guide whom I brought with me, for the wind had been gradually rising; and another half hour, he assured me, would bring on one of the fatal drifts. I thus only delayed to take a few bearings, and have one glimpse from the point of the pass of the magnificent mountain scenery in the direction of Rowándiz; and we then turned our horses' heads, and made the best of our way along the road, which we had opened in our ascent.

The wind came howling after us, but the drift had not fairly set in until we were near the verge of the snow, where there was no longer any danger. On our ascent we had passed some of

* Keli-Shín signifies in Kurdish "the blue pillar."

the Zerbá Kurds, employed in digging out of the snow a number of mules and horses belonging to a party who had attempted to traverse the pass the preceding evening in their return from Sídek, and, being caught in a drift, had been obliged to leave their loads and cattle, and use their utmost speed to escape with their own lives. I saw some of these animals dug out from a depth of at least 6 feet; but on our return we found the party had abandoned their labour and fled before the drift, to await another lull, before they ventured into the region of death and desolation. The view from the summit of the pass was most magnificent—mountains towering over mountains, all heaped about in a chaos of disorder, and stretching away in infinite and undistinguishable ramifications: the greater part of them were wooded to their very summit, and the huge masses of vapour left by the storms of yesterday, here hanging heavily upon a rocky crest, and there boiling up from the vast abysses that yawned beneath my feet, gave an indescribable and almost appalling grandeur to the scene. The outer barrier of this immense range, over the summit of which leads the pass of Keli-Shín, appears to be the most elevated line in the whole chain of mountains; for from the point where I stood, the guide pointed out to me the positions of Sídek, Rowándiz, and even Herír, which is very near to the Assyrian frontier. And now I must delay a moment to offer some remarks upon this very curious pillar of the Keli-Shín. At the distance of 5 hours from the pass, which I ascended, there is a precisely similar pillar, denominated also Keli-Shín, upon the summit of the second range, which overlooks the town and district of Sídek. This also is engraved with a long cuneiform inscription; and as it is said to be in far better preservation than the one at Ushneî, it would be very desirable to examine and copy it. But the chief value which I attach at present to these two interesting relics of antiquity is the determination which they afford of a great line of communication existing in ancient days across this range of mountains. This line could only have been used to connect two great capitals,* and these capitals must then necessarily have been Niniveh and Ecbatana; and while we thus derive from the establishment of so curious a point a geographical indication of some consequence, we are also able to verify the line, as well from the evidence of history, as from the experience of modern times. The Christian clergy of

* The ancient monuments of Persia, whether inscriptions, sculptures, ruined palaces, temples, or bridges, only occur, as far as my experience enables me to judge, upon the lines of great roads of communication, conducting from one capital to another. This mountain route was no doubt impassable in winter, and the high road from Niniveh to Rhages was thus obliged to make a circuit to the south as far as Holwán to cross the mountains into Media by the gates of Zagros, the only pass in the whole range which is not blocked up by the snow.

the present day, in travelling from Mósul to Urumíyah, always follow this line; and that it has been the great thoroughfare for them since the establishment of the Nestorian church in Azerbáján, we may also argue, from finding the Catholicus, at Ushneï, on his return from the Moghul court to his Assyrian churches towards the close of the thirteenth century.* I cannot doubt, indeed, but that in the frequent intercourse which took place about that period between the churches of Assyria and Azerbáján, the direct route across the mountains by Rowándiz was the one uniformly followed. From Ushneï it conducted by the Keli-Shín to Sídek, from Sídek to Rowándiz, from Rowándiz to Herír, and from Herír it debouched into the plain country of Arbíl. During the troubles of modern times the track has been closed against the transit of merchandise; but 'Alí Páshá, in his late attack upon this country, found it practicable for artillery a long way beyond Herír, and on the Persian side it is known to be open to guns almost to the very fort of Rowándiz. I learnt from the Kurds that the only really difficult part is between Rowándiz and Herír.

In the meagre accounts of the Byzantine historians I believe that I can also trace the steps, both of Heraclius and Khosráú Perwíz, along this route, in their marches between Niniveh and Azerbáján; and Ptolemy perhaps indicates the same line in a series of names which he connects, from west to east, between the 37th and 38th degrees of latitude.† Ascending to a higher antiquity, this must have been the road described to Xenophon when he was at the foot of the Carduchian mountains, as leading in an easterly direction to Ecbatana, and from thence to Susa:‡ and it probably was first formed into a great line of communication not many centuries before that period, when the rise of the Median empires followed on the destruction of Niniveh. That the inscriptions of the two Keli-Shíns are referable to a Median dynasty, I think there can scarcely be a question—the writing is in the Median character, the position upon the Median frontier. That the pillars were erected on the occasion of some great triumphal march, may also be reasonably admitted; but whether by Arbaces, when he was conveying the captured treasures of

* Asseman, tom. ii. p. 256. I now find that this notice occurs during the time that the metropolitan seat was fixed at Ushneï, and that it cannot therefore be taken as a proof of the line of communication: the following extract from Yáqút, however, is even stronger evidence:—"Oshnoh, a town on the road to Azerbáján, conducting from Arbíl. It is 5 stages from Arbíl and 2 from Urumíyeh, being situated between the two cities."—*Moráshido-l Ittilá'*. In this estimate two days must be allowed between Ushneï and Sídek; the distance is reckoned at 10 hours, and caravans usually halt the first night at Haik, immediately below the Keli-Shín pass.

† Lib. vi. c. 2.

‡ In my succeeding memoir I shall notice many other instances where this line is to be recognised in ancient history.

Sardanapalus to the Median citadel of Ecbatana at Hamadán, or by Cyaxares, on his return into Media Atropatene from the second destruction of Niniveh, cannot, of course, be determined until the Median writing shall be as well illustrated as the Persian, and one of the inscriptions shall have been thus correctly translated.

The form of the pillars may also be considered a scarcely less curious object of inquiry. There are many circumstances which lead to a belief that these monuments, in remote antiquity, were connected with a worship of the two principles of generation and fecundity;* and I cannot help entertaining a suspicion, that the pillar, embedded in its pediment, may be intended to convey a rude representation of the mystical union of the Lingam and Yóni, an idea which perhaps may derive further support from the pillar's being engraved only upon its eastern face, as though it conveyed an invocation to the fructifying rays of Mithra, on their appearance above the far horizon, to impregnate with abundance and fertility the rich plains of Media, that lie spread beneath the mountain. I have mentioned the superstition of the Kurds, which connects the pillar of Keli-Shín with the natural dangers that attend the passage of the mountain. Another belief is also prevalent that the two pillars form a talisman for the preservation of some hidden treasure; but the best informed regard the Keli-Shín of Ushneï as a landmark to determine the territorial frontier between Persia and Kurdistán, and to such a purpose it is applied at present, for the Zerkás claim all the country on the eastern face of the mountain, and concede all beyond the pass to Rowándiz.

I learnt at Ushneï that Schultz had succeeded, some years before, in reaching the Keli-Shín, and had copied a great part of the inscription; but this was upon his last journey, and the copy must thus have been lost with his other papers at Júlámerik. No other European has, I believe, seen this singular relic of antiquity.

During the lifetime of the late Mír of Rowándiz, the whole country from Ushneï to the Tigris, and as far south as the lesser Záb, was subjected to his rule. The Mír's own tribe was that of Sohrán, an ancient and honourable clan, the chiefs of which conquered the Rowándiz country between 400 and 500 years ago, and have retained possession of it ever since.† This tribe is

* Thus the pillars of Sesostris, engraved with the Lingam and Yóni, the *σηλη* of Semiramis, which seem all to have a reference to the same worship, and many other similar monuments, which are, I believe, (for I have never seen the work,) enumerated by Mr. O'Bryan in his "Round Towers of Ireland."

† Sheref Khán, the author of the Kurdish History, pretends to derive the name of Sohrán from Sor or Sohr, the Kurdish for "red," in allusion to the rocks of that colour upon which is built the fort of Rowándiz; but this is probably mere fable.

limited in number, amounting to no more than 800 families; but from having given rulers for so long a period to the surrounding country, who frequently asserted and maintained their independence both against Persia and Turkey, it is regarded by all the Kurds with great respect. The inhabitants of Rowándiz are for the most part Rewendís,* a very large tribe, numbering, with its dependencies, about 12,000 families, who serve under the Sohráns, in the same way as the numerous clans of Soleimáníyeh are all subject to the Bábán aristocracy. The fort of Rowán or Rowándiz has been the strong place of the Sohrán chiefs from their first establishment in the mountains, but their more usual places of residence have been Shaḡḡábad and Herír. It was only under the late Mír that Rowándiz became the capital.† The town is situated on the southern bank of the greater Záb, called here Rúbári-Rowándiz. It occupies a narrow valley under the Bení Henderín hills, and is protected by a very strong fort, which is built in a little bay on the acclivity of the mountain: it is estimated to contain about 2000 houses.

The Záb is here very narrow, but rapid and impetuous, and hemmed in between high rocky banks; it is crossed by a bridge of trees thrown over the channel of the river from two strong projecting piers of solid masonry, and when this is removed, the town is perfectly secure against attack from the northward. Rowándiz is situated midway in the mountains, between the plains of Assyria and Media, at the distance of about 15 or 16 hours from either.‡ Sídek is a considerable mountain district, on the line between Rowándiz and Ushnei; it contains perhaps forty little villages, dispersed among the clefts and ravines of the hills, and is inhabited by about 1000 families from the tribes of Rewendek, Píresúí, Bálikí, Rísúrí, and Shírwání. Sídek formerly belonged to 'Amadíyah; by the late Mír of Rowándiz it was annexed to his own possessions, and it still remains attached

* I cannot doubt but that the fort of Rowándiz is named after the tribe Rewendí: the names at the present day are written and pronounced differently. The tribe of Rewendí is divided into 12 Máms or branches, of which the following are the names:—

Mámgird	Mámبال	Mámles	Mamúí
Mámásám	Mámkekál	Mámsekí	Pírbál
Mámśál	Mámśíl	Mámikhál	Kelí

There are also a great number of dependent tribes, which, although not originally of the same stock as the Rewendis, have been long associated with them, and now generally assume their name. The following are the principal:—Sheikháb, Málibas, Núrik, Henarái, Kheílání, Kásán, Sheikh Meḡmúdí, Bámámí, Derijhki, Sekúí, Hir-búí, Shikúlt, Mendik, Pírájhí, and Bálmár, containing seven minor divisions. For ancient notices of the Rewendis, see my other memoir, p. 73.

† The fort of Rowándiz is, however, named in the Syrian history as early as A.D. 1207, as the strong place of the mountain chiefs. See Greg. Bar. Heb., vol. ii. p. 463.

‡ I take this account of the town of Rowándiz partly from Dr. Ross of Baghdád, who is, I believe, the only European that has ever visited it, and partly from the information of the Rewendis, with whom I conversed at Ushnei.

to the chief of that place, though at the time of my visit Isma'íl, Páshá of 'Amadíyah, who since the removal of the Mír by the Porte has succeeded to the greater portion of his mountain dominion, was preparing to re-assert his claim.

Immediately beyond the mountains W. of Ushneï is another district called Káni-résh,* which borders upon Sídek to the northward. This is inhabited by the Berádúst tribe, a clan of much celebrity in Kurdish history, as the former chiefs of Šumái and Terkúr, but now reduced to some four or five hundred families. The Berádúst possess nearly a hundred little villages, and acknowledge the supremacy of 'Amadíyah. To the N. of the Berádúst are the territories of the Hekárrí, and to the W. a number of petty tribes are scattered about, who are all dependent on 'Amadíyah. But one of the most considerable tribes who inhabit this part of Kurdistan, in the present day, are the Bálikí; and it is singular that I neither find their name mentioned in the Kurdish history, nor, as far as I am aware, has any traveller penetrated into their country, or acquired any information regarding them. They number above ten thousand families, and inhabit a very strong and secluded country beyond the great range of Kendilán, which forms the prolongation of the Ushneï mountains, and bounds the plain of Láhján to the S.W. The Bálikís are a very powerful tribe, and their country contains perhaps 200 villages. The capital is named Ráyát. The Mír of Rowándiz brought them under his sway; and, taking a male from each family into his service, as was his usual custom, the Bálik contingent proved of great service to him. When I was at Ushneï I was told that the greater part of the garrison of 'Amadíyah which had held out against Ismá'íl Páshá for nearly three years, under the brother of the old Rowándiz chief, was composed of Bálik Kurds. Bálik appears to be the name of the district which has been taken up by the inhabitants, refugees, probably, from the neighbouring clans; and is now applied to designate this great independent tribe.

Since the removal of the Mír of Rowándiz no tribe has attempted to interfere with the Bálikís; and 'Aziz Bég, the present chief, will acknowledge no superior, either Persian, Turk, or Kurd. I was very anxious to visit Ráyát, which lies at the distance of 18 hours, nearly due S. of Ushneï, for I heard a number of curious stories regarding treasures and talismanic sculptures, which are usual indications among the Kurds of antiquarian remains; but I could not prevail on Gháfúr Khán, to leave his fort and accompany me; and without his escort he assured me

* "The black fountain," Kurd.

it would be dangerous to venture among the wild mountaineers, who live under his relative's sway.*

Much curiosity, I am aware, is alive at present regarding the antiquities and geography of Kurdistán, and, as I have had a good deal of intercourse with the inhabitants of that part of Asia it may thus perhaps be useful to give the benefit of my experience to travellers desirous of penetrating into the many wild and unexplored regions of this mountain-country. I consider attempting to visit Kurdistán in any disguise as quite impracticable, the protection of a government, either Turkish or Persian, is fraught also with danger rather than advantage. The most safe, and at the same time the most agreeable way of travelling in Kurdistán would be to visit, in the first place, a frontier chief, whose connexion with his government, either Turkish or Persian, would oblige him to assist and protect the European recommended to his care; this chief then would be able, from his connexion with the tribes in the vicinity to pass the traveller on to another chief in the interior, and from thence, availing himself of the same means of introduction and protection, he might penetrate to still more remote regions until he had reached the objects of his search. Thus from the Persian frontier Ghafúr Khán would be able to pass a traveller on to Júlámerik, retaining some of the Hekárri chiefs, who are usually with him, as hostages for his safe return. The Hekárri chief, Núru-lleh Khán, might transfer his charge to the Chaldean patriarch of Kóch Hannes, taking the same precautions for his safety, and under the protection of the patriarch, the Tiyári tribes might be visited, I conceive, with little danger. Perhaps upon the Turkish side from the 'Amádiyah frontier, the plan might be adopted with equal advantage; but any direct interference of the Turkish or Persian government would certainly be attended with extreme danger; indeed, I was assured at Ushnei that the tragic death of the lamented Schultz was owing entirely to this cause:—when he visited Ushnei, Semed Khan, the Governor, offered to send an escort of his own Zerzá Kurds with him, to Júlámerik, detaining a nephew of the Hekárri chief, who was with him at the time upon a visit as security for his safe return: Schultz unfortunately declined this offer, and preferred the direct protection of the Persian government through the Afshár chief of Úrumiyah; he consequently returned to that place, and took with him as his guide an Afshár soldier, hateful to the Hekárri, as well from being the servant of the Persian government, as from belonging to a tribe opposed to them in nation, in language, and in religion, and with whom they were constantly at feud. Schultz was thus regarded by the

* The mother of 'Azíz Bég was a sister of Ghafúr Khán's, and a close connexion is thus kept up between the Zerzá and Bálik tribes.

Hekárrís as a government emissary, and his inquiries about antiquities were explained by his supposed errand to survey the country and discover the best route for the Persian guns.

From the fort of Ghafúr Khán I retraced my steps in the evening to the village of Sirgán, where I was most kindly received by Lúti Beg, the eldest son of Semed Khán, who, I should have mentioned, was absent with the army at Herát, and had entrusted the government of Ushneï for the time to his brother Ghafúr. This Lúti Beg was one of the finest young Kurdish chiefs that I ever saw. In form and face he was a perfect specimen of manly beauty; and the quiet business-like way in which he related for my amusement his various feats of arms with the Bilbás and Rewendís, struck me most forcibly after the blustering and noisy braggadocio of the would-be warriors of Persia. He was really a study for a painter, and his tales were among the most stirring that I ever heard in the whole range of wild and daring enterprise with which the border story of the Kurds is so richly fraught.

27th.—To-day I made a long stage of nearly 30 miles to the village of Moḥammed Sháh, at the farther extremity of the Soldúz plain. For 10 miles I followed down the course of the Gáder river, through the Ushneï plain, in an E.S.E. direction, passing a great number of villages both to the right and left: here the prong of hill which I had crossed at the pass of 'Alí-Harámí in entering the Ushneï district, terminated in a low point, leaving a little valley scarcely 200 yards across, for the passage of the river, from the plain of Ushneï into that of Soldúz. To the right was a more elevated range, which, striking off from the great mountains below the Keli-Shín pass, divides the plains of Ushneï and Soldúz from that of Láhiján, and then branches out into a multitude of lesser hills that intersect all parts of the Mikrí country. In the valley, between the hills, are two villages of the name of Derbend—one belonging to Ushneï, and the other to Soldúz. From hence I skirted the foot of the hills to the right, along the whole extent of the Soldúz plain; and in a line nearly parallel to my former route upon the other side of it. I had again occasion to observe the singular fertility of this favoured district, the great canals derived from the Gáder river, the rice grounds, the pastures, and the thriving villages. Moḥammed Sháh, where I took up my quarters for the night, is one of three villages at the south-eastern extremity of the Soldúz plain, which were excluded from the Kará-pápá grant, and conferred upon a small party of the Shemseddinlú, who also seceded, during the last Russian war, from the great tribe of that name, settled in Georgia, and sought the protection of the Prince Royal of Persia. This offset of the Shemseddinlú only number a hundred families; and they have a hundred families of Mikrí ra'yyats, the old

inhabitants of Mohammed Sháh, to cultivate the lands assigned to them. They also furnish a contingent of fifty horse to the crown, and receive the revenues of their small district (about 300 *tómáns*, in part payment of the allowances which were settled on them upon entering the service of Persia, and which amount to 2000 *tómáns*. The district of Mohammed Sháh, at a distance from the valley of the Gáder, is ill supplied with water and unproductive, and the Shemseddínlú look with envy on their more fortunate neighbours, the Kará-pápás, who realise double their amount of pay from the rich lands which they enjoy, while they themselves can barely gain a subsistence from the miserable pittance that has fallen to their share. The direction of Mohammed Sháh from Derbend, at the other extremity of the plain, was E S.E.

Mohammed Sháh is named in the Sheref Náneh as the third great division of the Mikrí country, though it is difficult to understand how so steril a tract could have ever formed a district of any consequence.

28th.—My route to-day led among the hills which I have before spoken of, as a derivation from the great chain below Keli-Shín; and after winding about for 8 miles in a general direction of S. 55° E., conducted to the summit of a pass that overlooked the little valley of Só-új Bólák, and commanded a fine view of the town of that name, distant about 2½ miles. Immediately upon leaving Mohammed Sháh I had entered the country of the Mikrí tribe, whose capital is Só-új Bólák. This town has been visited by many travellers, and I need not therefore be very minute in my description. It is situated in a narrow valley among the hills, on the right bank of a considerable stream which flows from the range W. of the town, and not from the plain of Láhján, as laid down in Col. Monteith's map. The town is quite a modern settlement, scarcely indeed 100 years old: it contains about 1200 houses, of which 100 are Jewish, and about thirty Nestorian Christian; the remainder are all Mikrí Kurds. The appearance of the town rising up in stages from the bank of the river, and covering the slope of the hill, is very pleasing: the left bank of the river is bordered with rose-gardens and orchards; and a number of vineyards and plantations have also been laid out and planted to the S. of the town. There is a considerable traffic carried on at this place in gall-nuts, gum-mastic, and the other products of the Kurdistan forests; which are brought to Só-új Bólák from the neighbouring districts, and here sold to the merchants of Tabríz. One of the great caravan routes between Tabríz and Baghdád also leads through Só-új Bólák; and thus, altogether, it presents a scene of bustle and animation which one is hardly prepared for in a town inhabited by Kurds, who are notoriously averse to the active occupations of peaceful life.

I remained at Só-új Bólák two days, a guest of the chief, who is charged with the revenue administration of the tribe; and I then set out, in company with another chief, to visit Láhíján, to which my attention had been drawn by a curious account published in Sir R. K. Porter's travels, of a certain petrified city named Karinj, or rather Khorenj, that had been described to him by an old Bilbás Sheikh, as existing in that neighbourhood. At Só-új Bólák I heard divers marvellous stories of this spot, and also of certain pillars apparently of the same class as the Keli-Shín of Ushnei; and being so near the place I could not resist the temptation of visiting it.

31st.—From Só-új Bólák I followed up the course of the river for 2 miles, to the confluence of the two streams of which it is formed; and then keeping along the banks of the right branch through a narrow glade, I wound along for seven miles further, gradually ascending till I found myself at the foot of the chain, among the roots and branches of which I had been travelling ever since leaving the plain of Soldúz. Here we quitted the stream at this point, a rapid brawling little brook, and struck up a steep rocky glen, which, at the end of 3 miles, conducted us to the summit of the pass. The direction of Só-új Bólák was pointed out to me from the top of the hill, due E.; and a deep precipitous gorge led down N. 80° W., into the fine plain of Láhíján, which was seen stretching out beyond the jaws of the pass, to the foot of the great Kurdistán mountains, here called Kandíl, or Kandilán, rising up like a gigantic bulwark of defence, and affording, with their snow-capt summits and dark serrated sides, the same magnificent background to the view that I had admired so much at Ushnei. Proceeding down the glen for 5 miles we reached the village of Legwin, just at the end of the pass, and then opened out into a fine valley which led into the plain of Láhíján. About 3 miles beyond, to the right, was the famous city of Khorenj, which I found to be nothing more than a long low hill; the extreme prong of the range that I had crossed, stretching out into the plain, and covered over its whole extent with a multitude of loose rocky fragments of all shapes and sizes, lying about in a strange chaotic disorder, and metamorphosed, in the imagination of the Kurds, into the petrified figures of men and animals. There was positively not a single trace of artificial workmanship in the whole mass; and I thus learnt another lesson of caution in attending to the wild exaggerated stories of the Kurds, regarding their local curiosities.

From the hill of Khorenj I went on 2 miles farther, to the pillar of Keli-Sípán; and here I certainly found a monument which appeared to be of the same class as the Keli-Shín, but with no inscription to repay me for the trouble of my visit. The Keli-

Sípán, or white pillar, as its name implies, is a rude column of white stone, 12 feet in height, 3 feet in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, fixed in a pediment, and differing only in size and colour, and the want of an inscription, from the one which I have already described. It faces also W.N.W. instead of due E., like the Keli-Shín. There are some rude figures like a horseshoe, engraved upon different parts of it, which had been taken by the Kurds for writing. Between this pillar and the village of Legwin, there is another which is also called Keli-Sípán, but it has been thrown down, and is of smaller dimensions even than the Keli-Shín; this likewise, on the three sides which are exposed, is without inscription. I had further heard at Só-új Bólák, of artificial grottoes in the mountain adjoining the Keli-Sípán, which had appeared to me, from the description, of the same class as the Persepolitan tombs: on inquiry, however, from the guides who had joined me from Legwin, I was here again doomed to disappointment; they knew of nothing but one cave, high up in the face of the precipice, and inaccessible except to a mountain goat or a Bálikí;* and this, from their accounts, was evidently a mere natural fissure. The Keli-Sípán is at the foot of a very steep and precipitous rock, which forms the southern boundary of the valley, down which I had proceeded from Legwin; the rocks of Khorenj being the northern limit of the same vale. Upon the table land at the summit of this hill, I learnt there was a very strong and extensive fort, defended, in the greater part of its circuit, by the scarp of the natural rock, and strengthened by walls and buttresses wherever there was the possibility of access from below. The day, however, was too far advanced to admit of my attempting to climb the hill, and I was told I should find nothing more than the mere ruined walls and a few tanks excavated in the rock to supply the garrison with water, to repay me for the labour of ascent.

Láhiján is a fine open plain, abundantly watered, and possessing a rich fertile soil, most favourable to agriculture. The source of the lesser Záb is in the Legwin valley; from hence it flows down into the Láhiján plain, where it is joined by a multitude of little streams from the Kandil mountains, and then, passing along Sardasht, it forces its way through the great chain, and descends into the plains of Assyria; and this course is not a little singular, for the features of the country would lead one to believe that the waters of Láhiján, on the north-eastern face of the great mountains, must necessarily flow into Persia, as Col. Monteith has laid

* The name is used proverbially in this part of Kurdistán to denote an expert cragsman.

down in his map; the contrary, however, is undoubtedly the case. The Láhíján river, even at its very source, is named the Zeï,* the usual pronunciation of Záb among the Kurds, and I took some pains to verify its identity with the Altún Sú, or Lesser Záb.

Láhíján, on the immediate frontier of Turkey and Persia, has been inhabited at different times by tribes subject to either government. It has belonged successively to the Zerzá, the Bábán, the Mikrí, and the Bilbás; and its present condition partakes of this anomalous nature; for though acknowledged as a Mikrí possession, and though the proprietorship of the lands belongs to the Mikrí chiefs, it is inhabited almost exclusively by the Bilbás, a tribe of Turkish Kurdistan, who still pay 1000 tó máns a-year to the Mikrís for the rent of the district.

The Bilbás are considered by the Mikrís as an offset of their own tribe; and from their not appearing under their own name in the Sheref Ná meh, I conclude this to be really the case. They have been long separated, however, and have continued roaming about the frontiers of Persia and Turkey, transferring their allegiance from one government to the other, as expedience suggested, until it seems difficult to say among the subjects of which nation they ought properly to be included. About 20 years ago they had risen to such power that they were, alike, a terror to the Afshárs, the Mikrís, and the Mokeddems. The Mikrí country they had entirely overrun; and it was not until Ahmed Khán of Marághah, the famous Mokeddem chief, invited all the leaders of the tribe to a great banquet, where he murdered 300 of them in cold blood, that the South of Aзербíján recovered its tranquillity. For some years after this they were hunted from the face of the country like wild animals, and were obliged to take refuge within the Turkish frontier, where the Mír of Rowándiz found them, when he rose into power; and by again slaughtering their most distinguished chiefs, brought them under some order and obedience. Since the removal of the Mír they have partly relapsed into their old predatory habits; and are now regarded as among the most turbulent and treacherous of all the border tribes of Kurdistan. Their power is so broken, that, at the present day, they cannot pretend to meet the Mikrís in open combat; but still, to prevent their depredations and retain them in some sort of vassalage, that tribe has been content to relinquish to them the rich district of Láhíján, where parts of the two divisions of Mengúr and Mámish are now settled, gradually adopting agricultural pursuits, and passing from a nomadic to a fixed life.

* Zei among the Kurds may be almost said to be a generic name for a river; for as the two Záb's collect all the mountain streams between the Hekárrí country and Shehrizúr, so the name of Zei is found attached to nearly every river that is met with.

The third great division which, indeed, includes nearly half of the whole tribe, is named *Pírán*.^{*} These, with the remainder of the *Mengúr* and *Mámish*, still adhere to a wandering life, pasturing their flocks in summer upon the Persian frontier, along the skirts of the mountains, from Sardesht to Ushnei; and retiring, on the approach of winter, far within the Turkish line, to the warm pastures of Beitúsh and Germián, on the banks of the Lesser Záb. The *Bilbás* consider themselves as dependent upon Turkey; but some of their chiefs have lately made proposals of allegiance to *Azerbáiján*; and the government is naturally anxious to induce them to settle permanently within the Persian frontier. They number about 5000 families; but they can bring even a larger number of horsemen into the field; for, contrary to the usual habits of the tribes, several brothers frequently live in the same family, and nearly every *Bilbás* † is provided with his horse and spear. Fire-arms are used by the *Bilbás* in all their mountain warfare: but for a foray on the plains they usually take the field with spear and shield, mounted on active, little, high-bred horses, admirably fitted; and the leaders, for the most part, wearing steel helmets and shirts of mail. The parties of the *Bilbás* that I have seen, appeared to be dashing horsemen; but they are not considered among the tribes as equal to the *Mikrí*, the *Bábán*, or perhaps the *Zerzá*.

The capital of *Láhiján* is named *Péshwá*: it is distant about 3 miles N.W. of *Keli-Sípán*, and forms the residence of the *Mámish* chief; the *Mengúr* lands lie to the S.E. farther down the plain, where there are, also, two large villages, named *Ter-kúsh* and *Lálá*. I can find nothing of interest connected with the ancient geography of *Láhiján*, unless, indeed, the town of *Lahika*, where the Nestorian Catholicus is stated to have confined a rebellious monk, in the 13th century, when he held his ecclesiastical

* The *Bilbás* comprise the following divisions:—

<i>Pírán</i> , Containing	<i>Mengúr</i> , Containing	<i>Mámish</i> , Containing
<i>Mokháneh</i> .	<i>Kádír Weisí</i> .	<i>Hemzeh A'ghái</i> .
<i>Berchem</i> .	<i>Zúdí</i> .	<i>Merbúk</i> .
<i>Morik</i> .	<i>Rasgei</i> .	<i>Jokhúr</i> .
<i>Yúsuf Khelikah</i> .	<i>Babresú</i> ,	<i>Beláwend</i> .
<i>Sebremá</i> .	and	<i>Merbabekrá</i> .
<i>Sétá</i> .	<i>Meruekená</i> .	<i>Fekéh Wetmánah</i> .
<i>Westápirá</i> .		<i>Sinn</i> ,
<i>Wermeziyár</i> .		and
<i>Nánákelí</i> .		<i>Ránik</i> .
<i>Hessen A'ghái</i> .		
<i>Mámádesná</i> ,		
and		
<i>Péwa</i> .		

† The *Bilbás* *Tufengchís* (or match-lock men) are excellent marksmen; and their assistance is eagerly courted by the *Kurdistán* chiefs in their struggles among each other for power.

court at Ushnei,* on the removal of the metropolitan see from Niniveh, can be supposed to refer to the capital of this district.

I returned in the evening from Keli-Sípán to Legwin, where the presence of my Só-új Bólák friend secured me a hearty welcome, from the old Mikrí white beard; who, with a hundred families, still continued to occupy and cultivate this little district, notwithstanding the close vicinity of his enemies, the Bilbás. The old man had a family of ten sons, all inured to battle from the cradle: they had escorted us from Legwin to the Keli-Sípán, and, on our return, showed off, for my amusement, the various feats of horsemanship for which they were celebrated throughout the tribe. Their rapid charge, crouched up in a ball upon the saddle, behind their little round shield, and with the long spear held well in front, was really superb. The Cossacks had no chance against the Mikrí horse in the last Russian war: on one occasion, in particular, the Mikrís† chased the whole Russian cavalry from the field, and several of these very brothers had particularly distinguished themselves in the action. The old man proudly offered, for the honour of the Mikrís, to match this little band of brothers against any party of horsemen in the world, equal to them in numbers; and, as far as the East was concerned, he was probably right, for the Mikrí are by far the best cavalry in Persia, and these ten horsemen were about the best in the whole tribe.

Returning to Só-új Bólák by the same track which I pursued in going there, I again took up my quarters with the Mikrí governor. This tribe is one of the strongest and most powerful in Persia; it numbers above 12,000 families, and the tract of country which it occupies measures about 40 miles in length and 50 in breadth, extending N. and S. from the Miyándáb plain to Kurdistán proper, and E. and W. from the valley of the Jaghatú to the mountains. The Mikrís have almost entirely abandoned a nomade life, and are settled in villages; but still, on the approach of summer, they adhere to their old habit of removing into black tents, which they pitch on the outskirts of the village. They are

* See Asseman, tome ii. p. 256. The prison, however, is said to have been in the monastery of S. Abraham, which certainly recalls to mind the Deir Sheïkh Ibráhím, of Sirgán.

† The Mikrís are divided into the following *tírehs* (or minor tribes), many of which, again, have smaller sub-divisions:—

Bábá Amíreh, pronounced Bábáméri.

Deh Bokrí, the financial governor is of this tribe.

Khelkí.

Sheïkh Sherefí.

Selekeí.

Hasan Khálí.

Kárish.

Silki.

Sekír.

Gúrik.

Fekiyesí.

Ables.

Bárik.

Soleïmání.

Beyí.

'Omerbil.

Merzink.

Létáú.

Máwet and

Shiwezái.

very lightly taxed by the Persian government, paying, nominally, but 22,000, and, in reality, not more than 25,000 tó máns a year; which is not above half the sum that their assessment should reach, according to the general revenue system of the province. This is a politic measure, no doubt, for as Sunnís and Kurds, the Persian crown has no hold whatever on their allegiance; and they are, at the same time, too powerful to be coerced into anything like tame submission. They are, only, directly liable to furnish 200 horse for the service of government; but in any great national cause, which did not outrage their Sunní feelings, they might supply a body of most efficient cavalry, numbering from 4,000 to 5,000 horsemen, and still retain enough hands to gather in their crops, and protect their own country against aggression. Their present revenue system seems to be peculiar to themselves. The country, acquired in war, was originally held as direct property by the chief. From him it descended to his family, and thus, at the present day, the proprietorship of almost the whole of this extensive country is in the hands of a single family, the Bábá 'Amíreh sprung from a common ancestor, the famous Amíreh Páshá, a Mikrí chief, who rose into great power in the sixteenth century, when Tabríz and the adjacent districts fell under the rule of Constantinople; and who, for his distinguished services in the Turkish invasion of Azerbáján, was rewarded by Sultan Morád Khán with the governments of Mósul, Arbil, the Bábán, and Mikrí countries, and Marághah.* But this small family of the Bábá Amírehs, which does not number above fifty or sixty people, cannot be supposed capable of cultivating all the lands, and a system has been thus introduced, by which the chief of the tribe can assign any portion of the country that he pleases to the care of other inferior leaders, who are called Aghás, with or without the consent of the proprietor. The produce is then divided according to the following proportions:—the Bábá Amíreh landlord receives a fifteenth in right of his hereditary proprietorship; the Aghá, or farmer, who is the responsible agent to government, a tenth; the Zerá'et-chís, a class of people who are supposed to understand the science of agriculture, and who superintend the cultivation, a fifth; and the remainder is shared between the expense of tillage and the price of labour, according to the different arrangements for farming which exist between the ra'yyat and Aghá; the most common is what is called Nisfehkári, where the expenses and produce of cultivation are both shared equally between them; the Aghá taking upon himself all the government liabilities as the equivalent of the labour bestowed by the ra'yyat. The tenth claimed by the Aghá, independently of

† See Táríkhi-Akrád.

this arrangement, is ostensibly the government share the 'Ushrá exacted in all Sunní countries; but, practically, it does not work so. The revenue to be realised is distributed by the chief among the different districts, at an average rate of two tó máns a family, and the Aghá, or Bá bá Amíreh proprietor, if he farms his own land, is then at liberty to apportion the assessment among his ra'yyats, in reference to his own knowledge of their capability to contribute.

I have mentioned that among the great tribes the condition of the peasantry is far superior to their state under the direct administration of the government or the control of any foreign master; who, to fulfil his terms of contract, or to gratify his own avarice, is sure to wring from them their last penny. Among the Mikris this is particularly observable: in detached villages or districts, if the peasantry are forced by oppression to vacate their lands, they can be reclaimed by the chief whom they have deserted; but here they are all of one tribe, and should any chief burden his ra'yyats with an undue assessment, they have merely to migrate a few miles to the milder rule of another, leaving the landlord to realise his revenue as he best may. The Aghás are thus obliged, for their own interests, to cherish and protect the peasantry that cultivate their lands; and I really believe that there is also a strong and most pleasing feeling of mutual attachment, which makes them cling to each other under all circumstances, and regard each other's welfare as identical. The Mikrí chiefs declare that they value a family of their own ra'yyats as equal to two or even three Turkish families. The Kurd never visits his chief without the offering of a lamb or sheep; and in any exigency, where he is suddenly called upon to produce a large sum of money, the chief is sure of being cheerfully assisted by all his ra'yyats to the utmost limit of their means; while the sulky Turk will never pay one fraction beyond his due, except upon compulsion; and even to obtain this due there is a constant scene of prayer and protestation upon one side, and of abuse and violence upon the other. Still, however, the Kurds are half savages, and have no idea of personal comfort: and thus the traveller, in passing casually through the country and perceiving their dirty miserable villages, is apt to infer distress and poverty, and to argue the inferiority of their general condition to that of the peasantry of other countries.

November 2nd.—I left Só-új Bólák, much gratified with my sojourn among the Mikris, and travelled 25 miles to Merhemet-ábád, in the Miyándáb plain. Following down the course of the river of Só-új Bólák, in a N. E. by N. direction, I passed the large village of Yúsuf Kend at 3 miles. Here the valley became more open; and there was a limited extent of rice ground. At

1 mile farther I crossed the left bank of the river to inspect some curious antiquities. The first was an isolated rock called *Sheitán-ábád*.* The face of it had been smoothed in many places with the chisel; and a large passage, which looked like an aqueduct, had been excavated through it. This passage being now almost entirely open to the day, as though the outer surface of the rock, which was of a soft yielding nature, had been worn away until it reached the aqueduct within. At the distance of a few hundred yards from this, lower down the river, there was another rock, called *Saukend*, where I found still more interesting remains. The lower part of this, facing the river, had been all artificially smoothed; and the greater portion of its conical surface above had been cut into regular flights of steps, which conducted to a little platform on the summit, where, however, I could find nothing more than a single small reservoir, hollowed out of the rock, with four holes at the corners, that appeared intended for pillars to support some canopy over the water. Through this rock also had been excavated a narrow winding passage, which I conclude to be a continuation of the aqueduct of *Sheitán-ábád*, the intervening communication, which must have been raised very considerably above the ground, having disappeared in the lapse of ages. I crept into this passage, on my hands and knees, until I reached, at some distance within, a low chamber, the purpose of which I could not at all comprehend. I could find no trace of sculpture or inscription; but the base of the rock on the scarped side, where would be the most likely place for a tablet, is concealed by the banks of a modern canal that has been excavated just beneath it. The labour that has been bestowed on the exterior face of the rock seems to indicate that it must have been anciently surmounted by some building; and I conclude this to have been a fire temple; but if such really were the case, it has now altogether vanished, and left the natural pediment alone to mark its site.

I then recrossed the river to the neighbouring village of *Inderkúsh*, and there procured guides to conduct me to the place, named by the Kurds, *Fakhrakáh*, which, from the description, I had rightly conjectured to be an ancient tomb, of the same class as those at *Persepolis*. I reached this at the distance of a mile from *Inderkúsh*, and found the excavation, as usual, high up in the face of a precipitous rock. My *Mikrí* guides ascended the face of the rock like cats, and then drew me up with ropes; the perpendicular height, after climbing up the hill as far as I possibly could, being about 30 feet. The outer chamber of the excavation was 8 paces in width, and 8 in depth; the height being 12 feet. Here there was a recess raised one step from the outer chamber,

* Literally "the devil's habitation."

and supported by two massive pillars with circular bases and capitals, all cut out of the solid rock. Within this, again, and raised two steps higher, there was a second recess, also supported by two pillars, and containing, at its inner extremity, three places of deposit for the dead ; one 8 feet in length, and 5 feet in breadth, and the other two about half that size : the depth of all three being about 2 feet.

The tomb must have been excavated for some ancient sovereign and his two children ; but inscription or sculpture there was none to indicate even to what dynasty it was to be referred. Among the writings, however, on the walls of the tomb, where visitors are usually in the habit of recording their names, I found a set of inscriptions which I am inclined to regard as very singular. From their being written in ink, or some composition resembling it, I could not at first suppose them of any antiquity ; but when I began to copy the characters, I found they must have been inscribed when the face of the rock was smooth, and had suffered little from exposure ; for their only illegibility arose from the surface of the rock being worn away in many places, which broke the continuity of the writing. If the lines had been written after the smoothness of the rock had been destroyed, traces would have been apparent in the broken parts ; but of this there was no appearance. Where the face of the rock was smooth the writing was quite distinct ; where it was broken the letters, or parts of them, were effaced. The characters have much resemblance to some of the old Pehleví writing, but still they are not identical with it ; and I do not believe there is any known alphabet to which they can be uniformly assigned. I attribute them to some ancient visitors of the tomb, long anterior to the introduction of Islamism. All these remains seem to indicate the site of some ancient city in the vicinity ; and accordingly we find in Kurdish tradition a large tract of the adjacent valley now irrigated by the river, and wholly under cultivation, named Shári Verán, and believed to have been the position of an immense capital.

I am at a loss, however, I confess, to explain in any satisfactory way the name of Shári Verán. There has certainly been no city of any consequence at this spot for the last thousand years ; and I can scarcely admit the similarity of the title to the *Vera* of Strabo to be of any weight against the mass of evidence which would assign that city to a different emplacement.*

From Fakhraháh I struck across the low hills in a direction of E. by N., leaving to my left the valley of the Sô-új Bólağ river, and the marshy lake where that river loses itself, which I saw in the distance ; and at the end of 8 miles again descended into the

* See the following Memoir, pp 113 and 133.

Miyândâb plain: 10 miles across the plain, in the same direction, crossing at the 7th mile, the Tâtâú river brought me to the large village of Merhemet-âbâd, the capital of the district, and only known at present in the country by the title of Shehri-Miyândâb. This was formerly a very considerable town: the late prince royal proposed to make it the head-quarters of his artillery. He built here a fort and palace, and gave it the new title of Merhemet-âbâd. The place is now half-ruined; but it still contains above 1000 houses, among whom are twenty Armenian Christians and forty Jews.

The great Miyândâb plain is chiefly inhabited by Turks, of the tribe of Mokeddem; some of them residing permanently in villages, but the greater part living in black tents during the summer, and retiring to their *kishlâks** (clusters of little thatched dirty cabins) in winter. I have mentioned the fine rich soil which this plain enjoys throughout. About Miyândâb it is highly cultivated; and, again, a short distance to the eastward, where a very considerable stream, called the Leilân Sû, is wholly absorbed in irrigation, the production of rice is immense.

3rd.—This morning I rode over from Miyândâb to inspect the ruins of Leilân, laid down in Colonel Monteith's map as the site of Canzaca. I crossed the Jaghatú at $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, and reached Leilân at 6 miles farther, the direction being N. 64° E. The great ruin I found to be a quadrangular inclosure, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length, and half that distance in breadth, composed of a line of mounds, some 40 or 50 feet in height. Within the area there was hardly any trace of building; but without, on the southern face, a large mass of broken ground indicated the site of a considerable town. There could be little question, from the character of the mounds, that the fort was of some antiquity; but its claim to be considered as the representative of Canzaca I shall discuss in my memoir on the Âtropatenian Ecbatana. It is called by the peasantry *Kal'eh'i-Bâkhteh*; and they have a tradition that it stood a successful siege, of seven years, against some Feringí warrior who attacked it. The present village of Leilân, a small miserable hamlet, is at the south-eastern angle of the fort.

From Leilân I again struck across the plain, in a direction of S. by E., to the Jaghatú river, which I recrossed at 7 miles, just at the point where it debouches into the open country. Here I crossed the high road to *Se'in Kal'eh*, and re-entered the Mikrí country. Ascending gently from the bank of the river, I then continued for 7 miles farther, over an undulating down, in the same direction of S. by E., until I reached the village of Armeni

* *Kishlâk* is the winter residence, in contradistinction to the summer pastures, or *yâilâks*.

Bolákí, in a fine open valley among the hills, and took up my quarters with a Mikrí chief, whom I had been disappointed in meeting at Só-új Bólák, and whom I took this opportunity, therefore, of visiting upon his farm in the country.

The district in which I now was I found to be denominated Beyí.* It was an old possession of the Mikris; but being little inhabited, it had been taken from them by 'Abbás Mirzá, and conferred upon the Chárdaurís,† when that tribe was first located in this part of Azerbáján. The greater part of the Chárdaurís, however, abandoned their new possessions some years ago, and migrated farther to the S. Since which time the Mikrí chiefs have been busily employed in settling villages throughout the district, and thus establishing their claim to it in a way to prevent the possibility of its being again wrested from them. I found the same kind and hospitable treatment at Armeni Bolákí which I have uniformly experienced as the guest of a Kurdish chief, but nowhere, perhaps, to a greater extent than during my short sojourn among the Mikris.

4th.—To-day my Mikrí friend insisted on escorting me to Mohammedjik, the residence of the Chárdauri chief, and we accordingly set off together with a large party of horsemen to find our way there. For 3 miles we wound among the hills in an E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction to the bed of the Jaghatú, which here runs in a narrow valley, about a mile in width, between ranges of hills, which to the west are steep and barren, to the east ascending more gradually and cultivated along their slopes. The district on the other side of the river was named A'járí, a dependency of Marághah, containing a great number of villages along the banks of the Jaghatú and the numerous streams which descend from the hills to the east, and empty themselves into it. The capital of the district is Kásháwer, a small town on the banks of the river, with a very imposing looking fort on the summit of the hill above it. After ascending the left bank of the river for a mile, we crossed over at a point where a mound, called A'kchehlí Teppeh, divided the territories of A'járí and Sa'in Kal'eh, and from hence continued along the valley in a S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. direction for 10 miles to the village of Mohammedjik, situated on the rise of the hill, at the distance of about a mile from the bed of the Jaghatú.

Mohammedjik is a modern settlement, where the Chárdauri chief has built himself a comfortable residence, and has planted a large garden in the usual Oriental style, which is the wonder of

* So called from the Mikrí tribe of Beyí, by whom it was formerly inhabited.

† The Chárdaurís are said to have originally come from the plain of Chárdaur, in Poshti-kúh of Luristán.

the surrounding country. The history of this district for the last twenty years affords a good illustration of the character of Persian administration. The Mehál is named Sa'in Kál'eh, from the town of that name, about 1 farsakh higher up the valley than Mohammedjik, which forms the capital of the district: it occupies the south-eastern corner of the province of Azerbáján, measuring north and south from A'jári to Kurdistán Proper about 40 miles, and east and west, from Khamseh to the Jaghatú, it may average about 30. Before the arrival of the Chárdaurís it was calculated to contain 300 villages, and to be inhabited by 3500 families of the Afshár tribe, besides numerous refugees from the Mikris, the Mokeddems, and Kurdistán Proper: the government assessment was 17,000 tó máns. The Chárdaurís, an I'liyát tribe, originally from Luristán, and numbering about 4000 families, were removed by the late Sháh from Fárs to Azerbáján, and 'Abbás Mírzá settled them in this district, assigning to them the revenues for the pay of their contingent of horse. The greater part of the Afshárs, jealous of the new comers, then removed to Urumiyah, and as the Chárdaurís had little taste for agriculture, the lands remained uncultivated. The prosperity of the district thus continued rapidly to decline until the last Russian war, when the Chárdaurís, alarmed by the occupation of Marághah, moved off to Isfand-ábád, near Hamadán, leaving only 1000 families of their own tribe, and about the same number of Afshárs, in occupation of the lands. The Kurdistánís, finding the district thus nearly depopulated, now commenced their cheppáús,* and the ruin of all its southern frontier was soon completed: scarcely 100 villages remained inhabited, and the available revenue had sunk to 4000 or 5000 tó máns. This, however, was but a prelude to further evils, and matters had been gradually growing worse since that time, until, at the period of my visit, they appeared to have reached a climax of disorder. The chárdaurís, who remained in the district, still claimed the revenues, and to enable them to realise these revenues, they laid claim also to the government. The Afshárs would not hear of relinquishing the government, and having also obtained large grants from the crown for themselves, neither would they pay any revenue. Then followed appeals and references to a venal court, and each party obtained decisions in their own favour; until at last, finding that any adjustment by the interposition of government was impracticable, they had fairly taken the field, determined to fight it out on the old principle of might making right. Three different engagements had taken place, ending generally to the advantage of the Afshárs, but still without any decisive

* Cheppáú or Cheppáwel, a plundering foray.

result, and each party now held his own at the point of the sword.

The Chárdauris have no great reputation among the clans for skill or bravery; but they have still, on some occasions, done good service to government; and the Lord of Mohammedjik, old Naúrúz Khán, is one of the most shrewd and sensible tribe chiefs that I have ever met with. The Chárdauris of Sa'in Kal'eh are under nominal obligations to furnish a body of 700 horse to the crown, but I should doubt their being able to assemble half the number; and in the Herát campaign they were excused attendance altogether, in consequence of their own troubles, and their being attacked by plague during the preceding year.

5th.—At Mohammedjik I took leave of my Mikri friend, who seemed quite out of his element among the detested Kizilbáshes, and with a guide of Naúrúz Khán's proceeded on my journey. Following up the narrow valley of the Jaghatú, at 1 farsakh I passed through Sa'in Kal'eh, situated at the foot of an immense artificial mound, which is crowned by a modern fort apparently of some strength. Owing to the recent disturbances I found the place almost deserted, but the fort above bristled with arms, and the Afshárs, who had possession, did not seem quite easy at the approach of our party from Mohammedjik. From the appearance of the mound at Sa'in Kal'eh there can be no question of the antiquity of the site; it is difficult, however, to recognise the position in Oriental geography, and as the name is certainly a Turkish imposition, its accidental similarity to the Sanais of Ptolemy, or the Sintha of Peter the Patrician, must not be regarded.* At another farsakh from Sa'in Kal'eh I quitted the high road, which here strikes up among the hills to the left, and followed up the bank of the river for a short distance to visit the remains of an ancient bridge over the Jaghatú, named Kiz Kóprí.† This bridge was a most pleasing discovery, as it enabled me to fix the great line of route which approached Canzaca from the westward. I found four of the platforms of the piers from which the arches sprang still standing: they were 18 paces in length and 8 in breadth, pointed at the end opposed to the current, and rounded at the other, the exterior facing being formed throughout of huge blocks of hewn stone, excellently fitted, and the interior being filled with loose stones mixed up with a strong lime cement. There seemed to have been originally seven of these platforms, three of which had been carried away by the force and rapidity of the current. The era of the bridge I believe to be Sasanian, and it doubtless marks the line by which the road from Niniveh

* Ptol, lib. vi. c. 2. Peter Patric. in Excerpt. Legat., p. 30.

† "The Maiden's Bridge," equivalent to the Páli Dokhter, so frequently met with in Persia. See the Memoir on Ecbatana, p. 136.

conducted to Canzaca. The remains of an ancient Sasanian fort were also said to exist upon a steep and lofty hill on the other side of the river, but I had no time to cross and visit them. Turning up a narrow valley to the left from the bed of the Jaghatú, I now entered among the arms of the broad straggling range which here runs nearly west and east, and appears to connect the Mikrí hills with the great chain thrown off to the S.E. from Sehend, and named by Monteith the mountains of Kibleh. After winding for 10 miles among the tortuous ravines, and ascending the steep acclivities of the successive shoulders of the range, I at length found myself at the highest point of the hills, where I got a bearing of Moḥammedjik N.N.W., Şa'in Kāl'eh being nearly in the line. The hills in this part are steep and barren, and are used for sheep-walks: the high road from Şa'in Kāl'eh followed, I understood, a long easy pass a few miles to the eastward of the line, by which I reached the summit of the range; on descending very gradually upon a high table-land, I rejoined it, and from thence travelled 6 miles farther in a general S.E. direction to the village of Hışār.

This part of the country consists of a wide expanse of barren, hilly downs, which appear as if they might be traversed in any direction, and the traveller is therefore at first surprised to find the very great détour that he is obliged to make to reach any particular point; but this is soon explained: the downs are intersected by steep, precipitous ravines, which are not perceptible at a distance, and which, except at certain spots, are quite impassable: in the bed of each of these ravines is a little stream flowing down to the Sárúk, and the remains of numerous villages, now deserted, may be seen upon their banks.

To the E. the country is more hilly, the view being terminated by the great range which divides Azerbáján from Khamseh. At the time of Sir R. K. Porter's visit to the country, Hışār seems to have been a considerable place; of late, however, it has been altogether abandoned, and I now found the brother of the Afshár chief endeavouring to assemble a few families within the ruinous enclosure of the fort, who might serve to cultivate the adjacent lands.

At Hışār I was again among the Turks. The Afshár chief was absent on a pilgrimage, and the government was, temporarily, in the hands of his brother, a young man who had been from his childhood in the service of the government, and had thus tainted his I'liyát manners with the flippancy and affectation of the Tabriz court. I had no reason to complain of want of courtesy, but, I confess, the rough sterling kindness of the tribes has always pleased me far better than the jaunty bearing of the city fashionables.

8th.—Near Hisár the road from Şa'in Kāleh divides; one track leading to the right to Şehnāh, the capital of Ardelán; the other to the left, to Hamadán. Our maps commit a strange error in placing Sefer Khāneh, on the latter of these roads, instead of the former. Sefer Khāneh is in reality the usual caravan stage from Şa'in Kal'eh, on the Şehnāh road, and is situated about 6 miles to the W.S.W. of Hīşár, instead of to the E., as the maps had led me to believe.

I had come to Hīşár for the purpose of visiting the caves of Karaftú before I proceeded to Takhti Soleimán. I found them now to be only distant 4 farsakhs; but the road among the ravines was too difficult to admit of my going and returning in the day, and there was no nearer point on the direct line where I could make my stage; I was, therefore, recommended to-day to go to Chúklí, the last Afshár village of any consequence towards the Kurdish frontier; and from thence, on the morrow, to visit Karaftú, and return to Tikán Teppēh. At about 1 farsakh from Hīşár I rejoined the high Hamadán road, continued for another farsakh along it, and then struck down a ravine to the right, until I reached the villages of Gók Aghách, and Chúklí, in the last of which I took up my quarters, the distance from Hīşár being $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles; it was difficult to observe, accurately, the direction of this march, from the windings of the road, the want of any prominent objects, and the narrow range of view among the undulating hills; however, as far as I could ascertain, the general direction was E. a little southerly. I found Chúklí to be chiefly inhabited by a party of Kalhur refugees from Kermánsháh, who had known me when employed at that place, and were now most desirous to do me honour in their new abodes. The village is of no great size, but it is pleasantly situated on a small stream which flows down to the Sárúk, and there is more cultivation around it than is usually seen in this desolate and sterile tract.

7th.—Escorted by a party of Kalhur horsemen, I set out from Chúklí to visit the caves of Karaftú, one of the most curious places that exist in Persia. Travelling in a direction of S. 20 W. over a barren and open country, at 7 miles I reached the bed of the Sárúk river. This river is formed by the confluence of four streams which rise in the district of Takhti Soleimán. It flows then to the W. in a narrow, rocky valley, between high banks, broken at intervals by the huge ravines, which, as I have mentioned, intersect the country in all directions, and run down to the bed of the river. Near Sefer Khāneh it meets the Jaghatú, which rises in the pass of Náúkhán, on the eastern face of Zagros, and thence passing through the district of Sekiz, collects all the streams of that mountainous region; from the point of confluence the river continues among the mountains till it reaches Kiz

Kóprí, after which, the valley begins to expand; and, at last, opens out into the great plain of Miyándáb. At this season I found very little water in the Sárúk; it was merely a rapid, noisy stream, boiling along amid stones and rocks, and fordable at all points. The Sárúk does not form the boundary between Azerbáján and Kurdistán, as has usually been stated. The Afshárs of Sa'in Kal'eh claim a very considerable tract S. of the river; and though at present it is little occupied, no doubt remains as to their right. At 7 miles from the river, still pursuing the same direction, over undulating downs covered with high withered grass, I reached the great ravine of Karaftú, in the precipitous face of which are found the openings to the caves.

Sir R. K. Porter has described these excavations with so much minuteness and accuracy that I need not add much to his account. There can be little question about their having been devoted to Mithraic worship, and the neighbourhood of the great Median capital explains their position in this wild, and now desolate region. Porter speaks of an enchanted fountain in the innermost recesses of the mountain, to which he was unable to penetrate: I heard the same story from my guides, and, after numerous failures, succeeded at last in reaching the spot, at the end of a natural gallery formed of the most splendid stalactites. The magic fountain proved to be nothing more than a small natural pit among the stalactites, filled with delicious water; and, after clambering round the sides of it, I found the gallery too narrow to admit of any farther progress. There is some exaggeration in the infinite extent which Porter would assign to the ramifications of the cave. I followed every gallery which I found, or with which the guides were acquainted, to its end, and none of them reached further than the fountain, about 700 yards from the entrance. The altar, also, of which Porter speaks, in the square chamber of the second range, is the base of a broken pillar—had he cast his eyes upwards he would have seen the rude capital adhering to the roof of the cave. His description, however, in the main, is graphic and correct, and I cannot do better than refer to it for all particulars of this very interesting spot.

After remaining 6 hours at Karaftú, I remounted, on my return. We fell in with some wild hogs near the caves, and the chase which they gave us took us some miles farther down the valley of the Sárúk than the point where I had crossed it in the morning. All this part of the country is what the Persians call Chúl (an uninhabited desert), and forms a sort of neutral ground between Azerbáján and Kurdistán; the real boundary is said to be the great ravine of Karaftú. After the chase, we followed up the narrow rocky valley of the Sárúk for about 9 miles—the general direction being E. 8° N. As we proceeded, we found a

few miserable villages on the banks of the river, and saw some others in the ravines to the right and left. At last, we quitted the river at the large village of Kız Kapán, an Afshár settlement, and crossed an open undulating country for 5 miles, in an E. by S. direction, to Tikán teppeh, the usual halting-place for caravans on the high road between Tabríz and Hamadán—it is reckoned 9 farsakhs distant from Şa'in Kál'eh, and from the caves of Karaftú it may be about 17 miles.

Tikán Teppeh is situated in a valley of limited extent, well watered, and pretty generally cultivated. The village is named from a large irregular mound, of no great height, but of considerable circuit, of which it covers the southern and western skirts; it is one of the chief places in the Afshár country. I have since learnt that in the immediate vicinity there are a number of ancient excavations, which appear as if intended for places of sepulture, and which, from their being thus found in the interesting neighbourhood of the Median capital, would be well worthy of minute examination.

8th.—From Tikán Teppeh I set out to visit the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán. There are two roads conducting to the Takht; one, a circuitous track, leads into the valley of the main branch of the Sárúk, and follows up that stream to its source; the other crosses the hills in a general direction of N. 40 E. I followed the latter track over a country broken by several low rocky ranges, and at the end of 12 miles, descended to the valley of the southernmost arm of the Sárúk. A considerable village, at this point, is named Kárániz; and a short distance lower down the stream there is a natural object which is considered one of the great wonders of the district: the river, it seems, swells out into a small lake, and in this there is a floating island of spongy turf, which is usually moored at one side, but can be pushed with long poles to all parts of the lake. I was so anxious to get to the Takht in time for a meridional observation, that, much to the astonishment of my guide, I declined going out of my road to visit the floating island. From the river I crossed over a barren, stony hill, where, in an old I'liyát cemetery, the body of an Imám Zádah* was said to have been, lately, miraculously discovered; and which was, thus, considered by the peasantry as holy ground, and, at 5 miles, on reaching the brow of the hill, had the satisfaction of seeing the ruins of the famous Takht, in the valley at my feet. The first view of the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán is certainly striking. The tract of country, extending along the base of the mountains, which form the prolongation of the Káfilán Kúh range, is more open than any I had seen since leaving the shores of the

* The descendant of an Imám.

lake of Urumiyah. It is called, in the country, the *Sahrá*, or plain of *Takhti-Soleimán*; but this must be only understood as a relative title, to distinguish it from the mountainous regions that surround it; for it is an undulating tract, intersected by many low ranges of hills, and does not at all answer what we expect from the term of *Sahrá*, or plain; near the south-eastern extremity of the tract there is a narrow open valley, commanded by a projecting hill, on the summit of which are the remarkable ruins of the *Takht*. From a distance they present to view a grey hoary mass of crumbling walls and buildings, encircling a small piece of water of the deepest azure, and bounded by a strong line of wall supported by numerous bastions. A nearer inspection shows the ruins, perhaps, to less advantage; but I confess, to me it was fraught with much interest, for at every step, I met with fresh evidence to confirm me in the belief that I now beheld the great capital of Media. I was occupied for the greater part of three days in examining the ruins, and taking a regular survey, which I have laid down in the accompanying plan. This plan, and the description already published in Sir R. K. Porter's travels, will preclude the necessity of any very detailed account; but still, I cannot pass over the place without a general notice.

The hill of *Takhti-Soleimán* appears, at first, as if it were isolated, but this is not strictly the case. On the southern, western, and northern faces, it presents a steep acclivity to the valley; but, at the N.E. and S.E. corners, the ground rises gradually, and on its eastern face it is thus very slightly elevated above the country beyond the walls. At the S.W. corner, I found the height of the hill, by trigonometrical observation, to be 150 feet above the plain, and that of the wall, at its summit, where perfect, to be 30, giving a total of 180 feet; and this may be taken as the general average of height along the three steep faces. The brow of the hill is crowned by a wall, the most perfect part of which is along the southern face, and the most ruinous upon the western; but this will be more apparent by a reference to the plan, where I have laid down the exact ground-plan of the wall, marking, by a dotted line, what I suppose to have been its original dimensions. There are the remains of thirty-seven bastions, and the circuit of the wall, measured from point to point of these bastions, is 1330 paces, or a little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. At a few points only near the gateway, on the south-eastern face, is the line of wall perfect; but where it is perfect, the masonry is shown to be most excellent. The breadth of the wall is 12 feet, the outer facing being composed of hewn blocks of stone about 14 inches deep, and 2 feet in length, alternating with thin stones laid edgeways and perpendicularly between them, and the whole being fitted with extreme care and nicety: the interior is filled

up with huge unhewn blocks, imbedded in a lime cement, which is now fully as hard as the stones themselves. The bastions that are now perfect near the gateway at the S.E. corner of the fort are solid, and taper upwards from the base; but I do not think these can be of the same age as the curtain, for they are formed of smaller stones, less accurately fitted, and in other parts of the fort fragments of the old bastions remain, faced with the same huge blocks of hewn stone which mark the general character of the real ancient building: it appears to me as if the bastions near the gate had been repaired in times comparatively modern. The gateway which faces S. 30° E. is quite perfect. It consists of a single arch, 12 feet high, and 10 feet wide, and is formed entirely of massive hewn blocks—a bastion protects it on either side. Above the gateway, and extending from one bastion to the other, are a line of blocks, each carved with a rude representation of an arch, which thus form a sort of ornamental frieze to the portal, and offer the only specimen of ancient sculpture to be found upon the walls. Passing through the gateway, I found myself within the precincts of the deserted city: the first object that attracted my attention was the lake. I found this to be an expanse of water on the highest point of the hill, irregularly shaped, and about 300 paces in circuit: the rocky banks that surround it are formed of a deposit of carbonate of lime, of which the water holds vast quantities in solution, and there can be no doubt but that they are daily narrowing as the calcareous deposit continues: a very short distance from the surface they recede inwards, thus forming a huge incurvated basin for the lake. Sir R. K. Porter states his belief, that the hill has been formed entirely by deposition from the water, and this, in very remote antiquity, would seem to have been the case, for the depth of the water, recently determined by repeated experiments of the Afshár chief at 47 Persian yards, agrees, as near as possible, with the height of the hill, ascertained by myself with the sextant; but still, from the date of the erection of the present wall, the height can have increased but very little, for so gradual is the slope from the bank of the lake to the gateway, that the water which flows out of the lake by an artificial outlet, opened within the memory of the old men of the district, can scarcely find its way to the portal, the greater portion lying about in large pools, evaporating and adding by its deposit to the great petrified mass; and, besides this, the water has long since risen to the highest level which the nature of the fountain will admit. I conclude the lake to be connected by an underground syphon with some other great fountain in the interior of the adjacent mountains, which is precisely of the same level as itself, and which has other means of outlet; for the great phenomenon of the lake is this, that whatever

number of passages may be opened in its rocky edge for the purpose of irrigating the lands below, the hill will be immediately filled by a copious discharge of water, which may be kept up for any length of time, without at all affecting the level of the lake; and if these passages again are closed, so as to prevent the escape of any water, the surface of the lake will still preserve the same level, and the water will never rise enough to overflow the banks;* and this same phenomenon was remarked and described by an oriental writer upwards of 500 years ago.† In the traditions of the country, it is not believed that there was any outlet for the waters of the lake until about fifty years ago, when the Sháh Sewend tribe opened two passages to conduct streams for the irrigation of their lands at the foot of the hill, and, of course, when the town was inhabited, the people, who could not be ignorant of the petrifying quality of the water, would naturally be careful to prevent its escape. However, after the city was finally ruined, which I believe to have been during the fifteenth or sixteenth century, some great outlet, either by accident or design, must have been opened upon its western face; for on that side the whole tract, intervening between the lake and the brow of the hill, bears evident marks of having been deluged—the surface is one mass of petrification, and the curtain and bastions, which I conclude to have been already in ruins before the great flow commenced, are entirely covered with the calcareous deposit, lying in huge waves over the prostrate blocks along the crest, and down the slope of the hill, like the hardened surface of a flow of lava from a volcano: the appearance is most singular, and I can hardly think that the constant flow of water for a century would have been sufficient to produce it. At present, there are two outlets for the water; the most ancient is at the N.E. corner of the lake, where the water pours gently forth through a small aperture in the rocky bank, spreads itself out, and petrifies as it goes along, until it reaches a ruined part of the wall upon the eastern face of the fort. It here again collects into a narrow bed, flows round one of the bastions upon a high rocky ridge which it has formed for itself, and then turns off into the country to a little pond, from which it trickles into the plain below; the other outlet is at the point of the lake nearest the gateway. A small portion of the water only, as I have mentioned, reaches the gateway, and, at the time of my visit, this portion seemed to be entirely wasted away in a large mass of calcareous rock, a short distance below. Having seen the extraordinary petrification upon

* I do not, of course, speak from my own personal experience; but this is a well-known fact in Persia, and has been repeatedly verified by the princes and nobles of Khamseh and Gárus during their summer encampment at the Takht.

† Hámdu-lleh Mostaufi. See the Second Memoir, p. 66.

the western face, I could fancy that, should anything occur to ruin the gateway and adjoining bastions, they might, some centuries hence, present perhaps the same appearance.

When I was at Takhti-Soleimán, the water did not gush from the lake with any force whatever; the hand, held a very few inches within the aperture, was quite insensible to a current, and bits of stick, which I threw in at the distance of a yard, were not even drawn into the channel. The peasantry regard it as a special miracle, that in the spring season, when water is required for irrigation, a copious supply reaches the plain from these two outlets, without there being any perceptible increase in the volume that is discharged; and that, while in other places the water becomes stone, it produces only a fertilising effect upon their cultivated lands. I conclude from this that, in the spring, when the mother fountain is swollen by the melting snows, the velocity of the water in these narrow channels must be much increased, though its apparent body remains the same; and that, either the carbonate of lime, which it holds in solution, must be all deposited before it reaches the lower plain, or, as is more probable, that the infusion of the snow-water must purify the fountain, and remove a great proportion of the calcareous matter, which appears at other seasons to be the main cause of its tendency to stagnate in its downward course. Be the reason, however, what it may, there is certainly no appearance of deposit in the cultivation below, and the narrow outlets could not contain a greater body of water than I saw in them at the time of my visit. The water is of a deep blue colour, exquisitely clear, and not unpleasing to the taste. I brought away a bottle of it to be analysed, but, unfortunately, it was broken before an opportunity occurred of applying chemical tests.

The old opinion was that this lake was unfathomable; indeed an Arabian traveller of the ninth century does not scruple to affirm that he tried to sound it with a line of 4000 yards, and failed in finding any bottom. The assertion is perpetuated in all the geographers, and was believed in the country until last year, when an Afshár girl, having thrown herself into the lake, in consequence of disappointment in a love affair, the chief, a very intelligent man, was led to try its depth with a line. The water was so heavy that the people employed could not tell when they touched the bottom; but with a line of sixty Persian yards the stone came up covered with mud: they then continued shortening the line, with the same result, until at $46\frac{1}{2}$ yards the stone came up clean, having evidently not touched the bottom. The experiment was repeated several times, and the depth of the lake may therefore be considered as ascertained at 47 Persian yards, or about 26 fathoms. The immediate banks of the lake are free from the remains of

any buildings, but at a short distance from it a square enclosure of ruins surrounds it on the four sides: the buildings are chiefly of a Mohammedan age, and doubtless belong to the palace erected at this spot by Abekáí Khán, the Moghul emperor, as I shall explain more at length in my other memoir. A sketch of the principal ruin appears upon the ground-plan of the place, and I also give a copy of the Arabic inscription which runs along the frieze in the interior of the building. As these ruins are of no interest, and have, moreover, been noticed by Porter, I need not delay with a description. There is one particular mass, however, situated on the northern side of the square, which demands more attention. Porter considered this to be a ruined hammám, or bath, which scarcely deserved notice; but, after a minute examination, I see no reason to doubt its representing the ancient Fire Temple of the province of Azerbáján, which, before the rise of Islám, is known to have been one of the most holy places in Persia. The obscure history of the temple I shall endeavour to illustrate in the memoir, and here, therefore, confine myself to a description of the ruin.

Amid the mass of crumbling rubbish it was not very easy at first to ascertain the original design of the building; but after some trouble I succeeded: the temple has been a square edifice of 55 feet.

It was built of bricks, admirably baked, and laid in a plaster, which seems very much to resemble the Roman cement of the present day: so strong, indeed, is this cement that in some places where the arch is destroyed the superincumbent building still remains uninjured, supported merely by the adhesion of the bricks to each other: the outer wall is shown to be 15 feet thick: a high narrow vaulted passage within this surrounds the central chamber, and communicates with it by a large broad arch, upon each of the four faces: this chamber, where the sacred fire was, I conclude, deposited, is supported by massive walls also 15 feet thick: it is roofed by a circular dome, and measures inside 10 paces square: the central chamber is now filled up with ruin and rubbish to the spring of the arch; and the dome is also partly broken in from the character of the building, formed of layers of bricks, both horizontal and perpendicular, which is peculiar to the Sasanian ages, and the similarity of design to that of other ruined fire temples, which are to be met with in different parts of Persia. I refer the edifice without any doubt to the same class, though it is possible that, under the Muselmán rule, it was devoted to other purposes: the interior of the dome in the central chamber is coated with a thick covering of black, which seems to have been caused by the smoke of the sacred fire, burning for centuries upon the altar underneath. The central chamber is in

pretty good preservation, but the outer passage is for the greater part destroyed, and all round the edifice outside there are vast heaps of ruins, the debris of buildings attached to the shrine: above there appears to have been a superstructure, to which, in fact, the massive brick walls below served as a sort of pediment; and that this must have been of great height and solidity is shown by the foundations of immense hewn blocks of stone that are still seen among the ruins on the top of the domed chamber; here, I conjecture, were the emblems of the heavenly bodies that outraged the pious feelings of the Christian soldiers of Heraclius; and a silver crescent, on the highest peak of the cupola, seems to have maintained its position even long after the establishment of Islám.*

The only other building within the fortress, that appears to have any claim to antiquity, is a small square enclosure of four walls, rudely built of unhewn stone, near the south-western face of the fortifications: part of the left hand column of the gateway is still standing, formed of huge blocks of a dark-red stone, which are cut into the shape of the outer half of an octagon, and are also carved with an ornamental pattern: two fragments of a shaft are standing erect in front of the gateway; two others are lying on the ground near it; and within the walls there are also two bases or capitals; for it is not easy to distinguish which; all formed of the same dark-red stone, that is not to be met with in any other part of the ruins. I looked with interest down the slope of the hill for the remains of other walls, besides the one that runs along the crest, but I searched in vain: there are certainly not at present any traces of a wall, except the upper one; nor do I think that there ever could have been any upon the slope of the hill. On the northern and western faces of the hill, upon a sort of long sloping platform, between the steep acclivity and the lower valley, there are traces of some very extensive remains, but so nearly are they levelled with the surface of the ground, that I failed to ascertain anything of their precise nature: they stretch away from the hill 200 or 300 yards into the plain, and appear to have consisted of large quadrangular courts with a few buildings attached; these were probably the dwelling-places of the nobles, for whom there was no room within the narrow circuit of the walls; but the great mass of the city must have lain along the banks of the little stream that flows down the lower valley; and here, I confess, the remains are scarcely sufficient to accord with my idea of this being the site of the ancient capital of Media: immediately upon the banks of the stream there is certainly a long line of broken ground, which has been evidently covered with buildings, and upon the side of a hill to

* All these points are copiously illustrated in the second memoir.

the right there are also some considerable remains, which are named by the peasantry *Kelisiyeh*,* or the church; but still there is nothing to indicate the site of one of the most celebrated cities of the East; and it is only after seeing the broad level surface of the desert, unbroken by the trace of habitation, which we know must have been included within the circuit of other ancient capitals, not less populous or less celebrated than either of the Median Ecbatanas, that one can believe the mighty city of Dejoces to have existed at this spot.

The common popular tradition regarding the ruins of *Takhti-Soleimán* ascribes the foundation of the palace to Solomon, the son of David. He is believed to have here held his regal court, and to have invited the queen of Sheba, whom the easterns name *Balkís*, to visit him at the *Takht*, from her palace in the city of *Ushneî*. A remarkable ruin is shown upon the highest peak of the mountains, bearing N.E. from *Takhti-Soleimán*, which is named *Takhti-Balkís*, and is supposed to have been built by Solomon for the summer residence of the queen. The mountain was now covered with snow, and the road to the summit was described as so difficult that I contented myself with examining the ruin with a telescope from the plain below. It seemed to be a large artificial platform, surmounted with a few ruined walls; and, as I learnt that the building was all rough unhewn stone, I judged it to be a Sasanian fortress. It is said to possess a magnificent view of all the surrounding country, and that, in a clear day, the lake of *Urumiyah* even may be seen from it.

Among the other marvels which are attributed, at this place, to the wizard king, is a winding rocky ridge in the plain below the hill, upon its southern face, called the *Azh dihá*, or Dragon, which is supposed to have been a monster transformed into stone by the potent spell of Solomon's signet ring, as it was coming, open mouthed, to attack the city. The ridge is about 10 feet high and 80 paces in length, and has evidently been formed by the calcareous deposit of the water running for a great length of time in a narrow stream along it.

The hill immediately opposite to the *Takht*, towards the west, is crowned by a little ridge of scarped rock, in which there are said to be a vast number of natural excavations, which are also called *Tawílehi-Soleimán*, or the stable of Solomon; and above the ridge, I understand, there was an old wall encircling the summit of the hill, as though it had been used for a place of defence. But perhaps the most singular of all the natural curiosities in the vicinity is the place named *Zindáni-Soleimán*, or Solomon's prison. This is a small conical hill at the distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the *Takht*, in a direction of N. 70 W. It rises up very steeply from the plain, and the summit is crowned by a

* Corrupted from the Greek Ἐκκλησία.

scarped rocky crest, which is rather difficult to ascend. On scaling this crest, I found myself on the brink of a most terrific basin, into which it made me, at first, almost giddy to look. The explanation of this singular place was at once apparent. A petrifying spring, similar to that of the Takht, must at one time have here burst from the ground. It must have given birth to the entire hill, rising from the pressure of the great interior fountain, as it gradually formed by its deposit a rocky basin to contain the waters; and at last, when the basin had risen to its present enormous height above the plain, some great natural convulsion must have suddenly cut off the supply of water, causing the level of the great fountain to fall at the same time to the height at which the lake of the Takht appears now to remain in equilibrium. I can only suppose that this great convulsion opened an outlet for the water at the Takht before the formation of that hill or basin; for otherwise it seems impossible to understand how the waters at the Zindán could have risen so much higher than the level at which they remain stationary at the Takht. The summit of the Zindán is certainly 200 feet, probably more, above the level of the lake upon the Takht; the shape of the basin is nearly circular, and it measures about 40 yards in diameter. I had no means of ascertaining its exact depth, but a small pebble, dropped from the brink of the basin, took $4\frac{8}{10}$ " to reach the bottom, which will give a rough measure of 370 feet; and by suspending a line of 20 yards from the side, I judged it to be above six times that depth, which gives nearly the same result. The basin is slightly incurvated towards the summit; it then descends perpendicularly till near the bottom, and there branches out into deep cavernous recesses upon every side. When the communication with the great fountain was cut off, an immense deposit of calcareous matter must of course have taken place as the water evaporated, so that the original depth was probably much greater than it is at present. The bottom now looks like moist sand, with fragments of rock projecting through it.

The tradition regarding this place pretends that it was formed by Solomon for a state prison, and certainly a more secure dungeon could hardly be found. All the well-informed people of the district, however, perfectly understood its formation; and the lake at the Takht, they say, some day may possibly present the same appearance. There are a number of springs near the foot of the hill thermal, acidulous, sulphuric, and calcareous; one of the most curious is a small basin with a jet of water in the centre always playing, and the spring still remaining at the same level without any apparent outlet for the water. This the Afshárs of course regard as a miracle; and I confess, at first sight, it appeared startling enough: however, I could not doubt but that there was some fissure invisible from above (though the

spring was exquisitely clear) which carried off the water under ground. During my residence in this neighbourhood I took up my quarters with the brother of the Afshár chief, a fine, rough, honest farmer, who detested all government connexions from his very soul, and who lived quietly in his village of Chorek Teppéh, about 5 miles distant from the Takht, cultivating his lands, protecting the peasantry, and enjoying all the pleasures of a real country life. Chorek Teppéh bears from the Takht about N. 50 W.; the intervening country is pretty open, formed of high undulating downs, with here and there the rocky crest of a hill; but beyond Chorek Teppéh, in the same direction, there is a considerable plain, which is intersected by the three most northerly arms of the Sárúk. One of these arms comes down a long defile from the mountains named Zarrah Shúrán, or the gold-washers, and along the course of this stream there is said to be the old shaft of a mine, which has been worked above a farsakh in length. There are numerous other shafts and galleries of old mines in various parts of the district, but none of them are now worked. They are believed to have produced lead, copper, iron, and even silver and gold, whence has remained the name of Zerreh Shúrán.

At Chorek Teppéh I heard wonderful accounts of an inscription in an unknown character, which was to be found upon a neighbouring hill, and the clue to which was kept with the greatest secrecy, as it was supposed to contain a talisman for discovering the entrance to some inexhaustible mine in the vicinity. I had been told of this inscription, indeed, ever since I entered the Afshár country, and my curiosity was not, I confess, a little excited when I found that some Feringi traveller, who, from the description, I at once recognised to be Schultz, had been actually detained here for three days searching for the tablet; and after every endeavour to obtain a sight of it by bribes and persuasion, had at last left the place without being able to effect his purpose. The same mystery was kept up in my own case when I first arrived at Chorek Teppéh. The Khán was absent, and not a single question could I get answered regarding the inscription. On my repeating my inquiries, however, after his return home, an old white-beard, the hereditary pír of the district,* was produced, who was alone in possession of the clue to the place. The old man at first gave a direct refusal to show the inscription to an infidel; but finding the Khán was not to be trifled with, he then endeavoured to make a bargain with me, asking some enormous sum as his fee for guiding me to the spot. I had been careful

* Among the I'liyát of Persia these holy men are often met with. They usually trace their descent from some ancient devotee or saint, whose sacred character is supposed still to shed its influence over the *O'jáq*, or family hearth-stone. The 'Alí I'láhi sectaries actually worship them, and, even among the orthodox Shíahs, an *O'jáq* is regarded with extreme veneration.

not to appear too anxious about this inscription, as I was aware that I should thereby be defeating my own object (indeed, it could only have been, I think, Schultz's extreme eagerness that prevented the old man from showing it to him); so I replied that I should be hunting with the Khán on the morrow in the neighbourhood; that I should take an opportunity of looking at the writing, and that if it proved to be of interest, which I had no reason to expect, he should be rewarded with a present. On the morrow, accordingly, in my way from Chorek Teppeh to the Zindán, I turned aside to the hill where the old man said the inscription was to be found. The side of the hill was covered with rocky fragments, and several fissures in the ground were shown, which were said to be the openings to mines, now disused and difficult to enter, from the galleries having become wholly or partially choked up with the falling in of the soil from above. Among these fragments the old man had to search for nearly half an hour before he himself could discover the tablet; and when I was at last summoned to behold and explain the talisman, I found it to be mere common Arabic writing, very rudely cut, and so nearly obliterated as to have appeared to the ignorant Afshárs like an unknown character. When I pointed out several particular words to the Khán, however, he could not fail to recognise them, and then he wondered at his stupidity in not making the discovery before. There are twelve lines, which appeared to me to be Arabic verse, but I could not make out enough of the writing to determine its application with any certainty. I conclude it, however, to have some reference to the mine which was worked close by. The old man, as may be supposed, was not a little disgusted with my discovery, and when the Khán began to taunt him with his wonderful talisman, he declared that his holy character was now gone, and that he must leave the country. I mention this story as a lesson to travellers in Persia, to be very cautious in trusting to the hearsay evidence of their guides; it is impossible to feel any certainty, with regard to inscriptions or other remains of antiquity, without personal examination.

In the spring and summer the neighbourhood of Takhti-Soleimán is represented as a perfect paradise. The country all around is carpeted with the richest verdure; the climate is delightful, and myriads of wild flowers impregnate the air with fragrance; indeed there is not considered a more agreeable yáilák or summer pasture in all Persia. The governor of Khamseh frequently makes it his summer residence, though, strictly speaking, it is beyond the frontier of his province; and a great part of the I'liyát of Khamseh and Gárús also graze their flocks during the hot weather in the vicinity of the Takht; of these I'liyát the principal are the Sháh Sewend,* a very large tribe, to be met

* These are the Shasseranní, that "dreadful and ferocious tribe" described by

with in all parts of Persia, but chiefly in 'Irák, and at Ardebíl: the portion of the tribe attached to Khamseh numbers about three thousand families, who migrate between Takhti-Soleimán and the warm valley of the Kızıl Uzen.

10th.—Having finished my survey of the Takht, I set out from that place to find my way to Zenjân, along a line which I believe has never before been travelled by a European. Ascending gently along a winding valley in the hills, in a direction of about N. 64 E., at the end of 5 miles, I reached the top of a pass in the first range of hills; Takhti-Belkís bearing due N., at the distance of about 2 miles: here the district of Angúrân commenced, the pass in the hills being considered the true frontier between Azerbájân and Khamseh. This district of Angúrân is one mass of mountains; it occupies all the eastern face of the range which stretches up to the northward, as far as the Káfilân Kúh hill, and is broken by innumerable ravines, generally running in an E. by S. direction, each of which conveys its little stream to swell the waters of the Kızıl Uzen: in the beds of these ravines are situated the villages of the peasantry, smiling amid gardens and orchards, and appearing all the more thriving and happy from their contrast to the miserable and half-ruined hamlets of Şa'in Kal'eh. Descending from the top of the pass to the opening of one of these ravines, I had again to cross a very high rocky ridge, the inner barrier of the chain, distant 1 farsakh from the upper pass, before I could fairly get into the bed of the little valley.

From hence I followed down a stream for 4 miles, in an E. by S. direction, the solitary peak of Mount Demirlí bearing right a-head,* in the far distance, during the greater part of the time. I passed several villages, and finally alighted at Yenijah, a fine thriving place, containing about two hundred houses, and filling the bed of the valley to some distance with the gardens and orchards that surround it. I had brought a guide with me from my Afshár host of Chorek Teppéh, and, sending him on half an hour in advance, I found on my arrival everything arranged for my reception by the old Ketkhodá of the place, who, though quite of a different stamp from the tribe chiefs I had been lately associated with, was still one of the kindest and most good-humoured fellows that I met with during my whole trip.

The district of A'ngúrân contains about fifty-five villages, and pays an annual assessment of three thousand tó máns to government, besides furnishing nearly two hundred men for the army. This revenue is mainly realised from the produce of lead, large

Porter in his visit to Takhti-Soleimán; their ferocity is, however, I fancy, confined to sheep-stealing and similar I'liyát practices.

* Mount Demirlí is strangely misplaced in Col. Monteith's map. It is about 40 miles out of its true position.

quantities of which are indeed now received by the government in lieu of money. The mountains of A'ngúrán and U'riyárd, an adjacent district to the N., are celebrated for the richness of their metallic stones. In U'riyárd the mines are still worked, and, under proper management, would yield a most abundant return; but in A'ngúrán, though the openings to the mines are all well known, it is not found of advantage to work them; for there are vast quantities of ore remaining at all the old furnaces throughout the district, from which the lead has been but half extracted; and the resmelting of this ore affords full occupation at present for all the peasantry that can be spared to attend to it. When this supply is exhausted, I suppose the mines will be again worked. The produce of grain very limited, and does not suffice for the wants of the population.

The A'ngúránís, in common with all the inhabitants of Khamseh, are Turks, and consider themselves, I know not with what justice, to be part of the great tribe of Afshárs. The government is hereditary, in the family of a particular chief; subject, however, to the approval of the provincial governor appointed from Teherán. This chief, by name Ganj' Alí Khán, resides at the village of Ganj-ábád, distant about 6 miles N.E. of Yenǽjah, and it is thus considered at present as the capital of the district.

A'ngúrán seems to be the place which, in oriental geography, is known by the name of Anjerúd, or Anjereh, and which was included under the Chengizian dynasty, among the dependencies of Sojás and Sohriverd.* In common with the surrounding districts it suffered greatly in the harassing conflict of plunder and devastation, which was kept up all along this frontier between the Kurds and Kizilbáshes, preceding the rise of the Şefavéan dynasty. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Turks had overrun Aзербáján, Khamseh and the dependent districts, as far as Hamadán, were confided to the care of a chief named Daulet Yár Khán, of the Kúrdish tribe of Siyáh Mansúr; and as the safety of 'Irák depended upon the defence of this frontier government, the power of the chief was strengthened with all the disposable means of the empire. Daulet Yár Khán, elated with this power, and relying on the natural strength of his country, now took occasion to assert his independence; he built a very strong fort in these mountains of A'ngúrán, defeated the first army that was sent against him, and it was not until Sháh 'Abbás the Great undertook in person the siege of his strong hold, that this dangerous rebellion was finally crushed.† The remains of Daulet Yár's castle are still shown upon a high peak N. of Yenǽjah.

11th.—From Yenǽjah I still continued to follow down the ravine in a general E. by S. direction, till it gradually expanded

* Noz-heto-l Kóláb.

† Sheref Námeḥ, or Tárikhi-Akrád.

into an open valley, and, at the distance of 8 miles, finally debouched upon a small plain, in which were situated the two large villages of A'ngúrán and Kháiník, both surrounded with gardens, and lying at the foot of high artificial mounds, crowned with defences. This plain seems to collect the greater part of the streams, which flow from the eastern face of the hills, and to pour them in one channel into the Kizil Uzen. Crossing the plain, which is the eastern frontier of A'ngúrán, I began to ascend a steep winding pass, and at the end of 2 miles reached the summit of a hill, from which I had an admirable view of the whole of A'ngúrán, and was able to fix the position of all the most remarkable villages. I had now entered the district of Kizil Gechiler, and for 5 miles further continued due E., over a high table-land, broken into gentle undulating ridges, till I reached the high precipitous banks of the Kizil Uzen, and saw the river winding in a narrow valley at my feet. The course of the Kizil Uzen is laid down most incorrectly in our maps. I had been led to expect that I should meet with it upon the line I was following immediately after crossing the range E. of Takhti-Soleimán, whereas I now found that it made a great circuit in this part of its course, and was in reality above 30 miles distant from the Takht. From the spot which I had now reached I could see a terrific chasm in the mountains to the N.W., through which the river forced its way in its onward progress to the Káfilán Kúh. Its left bank was girt as far as that point with very high precipitous rocks, while to the right the country sloped up to a range of hills bounding the view to the N., and was seamed throughout with the beds of immense torrents, now dry, and showing only a broad surface of bright shining pebbles. The descent into the river was abrupt and difficult. The road, for about a mile, wound among the most frightful chasms; and the rocky pathway was so narrow and slippery that our whole party was obliged to dismount and cautiously drag the horses after them. The perpendicular height of the left bank of the river at this point cannot be less than 1500 feet. The passage of the river also was not without danger, owing to the rapidity of the current and the great masses of rock that are brought down in the bed of the stream: the ford is constantly changing; and our guide was thus obliged to try several points before he succeeded in finding a passage practicable to the loaded mules. At this season too the water was nearly at its lowest ebb: in the spring there is no possibility of passing the river anywhere in this neighbourhood, except upon rafts. From the bed of the river a ride of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles brought me to Karágul, a considerable village, situated on the rise of the plain as it begins to stretch up to the hills. There are several other large villages in the vicinity, but I chose Karágul for my stage, as the residence of Bába Khan,

the hereditary chief of the district. He was an aristocratic-looking man, but soured with disappointment at having lately lost the government to a more wealthy competitor: my short sojourn with him was hardly as comfortable as I should have found it in a more humble dwelling.

12th.—To-day I mounted some hours before daylight to make a long stage into the town of Zenján: for 4 miles I kept on, nearly N., ascending gradually over a track broken into low undulating hills, to the foot of the range which bounded the valley of the Kizil Uzen. I then entered the bed of a narrow, winding torrent, which I followed for 3 miles, till I had fairly reached the top of the hills, and opened out upon the high table-land at the summit. Over this I continued for 16 miles farther, ascending and descending the successive low broad ridges with which the entire face of the country was intersected. Cultivation appeared pretty general; but as a violent storm of sleet and snow raged during the whole morning, I could see but very few of the villages which I was told were scattered about; nor, indeed, could I ascertain the exact direction of my route; it appeared, however, to be about N.E. by E. At last I reached the outer limit of this very elevated tract of table-land; and down a gentle sloping valley in the hills I saw the plain country of Zenján, stretching away to the foot of the other great range, N. of that place, which is familiar to every one who has travelled the high road between Teherán and Tabriz. From the top of the pass, Zenján bore due E.: descending into the valley, I was soon out of the range of snow; and 10 miles further across the barren tract, which slopes down gradually from the hills to the bed of the Zenján river, brought me to that place, pretty well fatigued with my uncomfortable ride of 33 miles from Kárágul.

Zenján is too well known to require any notice. After halting three days to refresh my cattle and hire mules, I set out to travel by the route of Tárom, to Gilán.

15th.—From Zenján I struck across the barren stony plain, for 1 farsakh, to the foot of the hills, in a direction of N. 37° E. Ascending this outer range, by a very easy pass, I then followed along the top of it for another farsakh, in an E. by N. direction, to the opening of a steep rocky defile, which conducted, at two miles farther, to the large village of Te'ám, situated in a small secluded plain between the two ranges. Te'ám is inhabited chiefly by muleteers, and appears a thriving place: from hence I followed up the valley, in a N.E. by N. direction, to the foot of the great range, which I ascended by a very steep pass; and at 4 miles distance from Te'ám, reached the summit of the hill. This is a very elevated point indeed, probably 7000 or 8000 feet above the level of the sea; the air was bitterly cold, and even, at this early season, the snow lay several feet in depth. The Gilán

mountains, which were visible beyond the valley of Sefid rúd, appeared of a much less elevation than the point where I now stood. From here commenced the great descent, from the high table-land of Media, into the lower country, bordering on the Caspian; for though the district of Tárom, through which the Sefid rúd flows, to the point of its confluence with the Sháh rúd, is separated by a lofty chain of mountains from the forests of Gílán, yet there is no great difference of elevation between them.* The pass is named, indifferently, Ak Gedúk (the white pass), and the defile of Lewán Chái, from the title of the little stream which flows down through it into the Sefid rúd: it is very long and devious, winding about for nearly 12 miles from the summit of the hill, till it emerges into the vale of Tárom: the general direction is N. 60° E. In the early part the road dips down abruptly from the top of the ridge to a little dell, where a small ruined caravanserai still affords shelter to travellers, who may be benighted or weather-bound, in their attempt to cross the pass: it then follows the course of the stream, sometimes winding along the steep hill side, but, more generally, in the rough rocky bed of the torrent, which it crosses and recrosses 100 times, till at length it reaches a huge craggy ridge, formed by a vertical projection of the strata, which serves as a sort of outer rampart to the chain; and through which the stream forces its way by a tremendous chasm rent almost perpendicularly in the naked rock: this is the key to the pass; and a few resolute men might defend it successfully against thousands. The road has been built up round the bluff edge of the precipice, and is so narrow, that two horsemen can barely pass each other. Beyond the gorge, again, there is a very steep winding descent down the face of the hill, to regain the bed of the torrent; and the pass then gradually opens upon the valley of the Sefid rúd. There are two other passes in this range, conducting from Tárom to the high table-land of Sultaniyah and Zenján, named Khámcháï and Terecháï; but the Ak Gedúk is considered by far the easiest, and is the one generally followed: in its present state of repair there is no obstruction whatever to laden mules in the lower part of the pass; but, during the winter, there must always be difficulty in crossing the snowy ridge at the summit; indeed, it frequently happens that this is blocked up for weeks together in a severe season.

Just beyond the pass where the road opens out upon the vale of Tárom, there is a village named A'yí, very pleasantly situated, and possessing a garden house, which was built by 'Abda-llah Mírzá, the late governor of the province: this is the usual halting-place for caravans from Zenján. From the rising ground behind A'yí, the pass of Rúdbár, through which the Sefid rúd

* Colonel Monteith estimates the height of Menjil above the Caspian at 1000 feet; but I should think 500 feet would be nearer the true measurement.

flows into Gilán, was visible, bearing S. 72° E. The road now turned off, nearly due E., along the northern skirts of the range which I had just crossed; and at 5 miles, passing the villages of Kálát and Kishlák, descended to the bed of the Sefíd rúd.

Tárom is divided into two districts: the upper division, which occupies a narrow tract on the right bank of the Sefíd rúd, between the river and the mountains, is named Tárómi-Khelkhál; the lower, a more open country, where the hills recede farther from the river, is called Tárómi-páyín. The district, on the left bank of the river, stretching up to the other range of mountains, is named Pushti-kúh; and, though now usually included in Tárom, is not considered properly to belong to it. Tárómi-Khelkhál contains about 100 villages, situated among the ravines and narrow valleys which run down from the mountains to the river. It is abundantly watered, and, possessing a very warm climate, is well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, which it produces in large quantities. There are a great number of gardens and orchards also round all the villages, and the fruit which is thus grown forms one of the staple articles of export. In the mountains, too, there are mines of salt and alum, that are considered of some value. The chief place in Tárómi-Khelkhál is Weniserd, a large village, distant about 1 mile from the river, considerably below the point where I crossed; and Teshwísh, upon the skirts of the hills, near Weniserd, where 'Abda-llah Mírzá built another palace, is also a place of some consequence. A very small proportion of the villages remain in the hands of government; by far the greatest part have either been conferred in Tíyúl, upon the proprietors, or have been given, in lieu of pay, to the officers of the court: the inhabitants are all Turks.

Reaching the banks of the river I crossed, by what appeared to me a good and easy ford, into the district of Pushti-kúh: so rapidly, however, I may mention, does the bed of the river change, that when I returned, twenty days afterwards, by the same route from Gilán, I found this ford quite impracticable from the number of rocky fragments that had been rolled down by the force of the current; and I was obliged to cross at another point, by a very deep and difficult passage. From the ford I continued along an open level tract upon the left bank of the river, for 5 miles, and then, turning up a narrow glade in the hills to the left, I reached, at another mile, the little village of Kaukend, where I took up my quarters for the night; having made a long and tiring stage from Zenján, of nearly 40 miles.

Pushti-kúh contains only 25 villages: it is not nearly so well watered as the other side of the river; the streams from the Gilán mountains being few and scanty, and all the intervening ridges being formed of naked steril hills. The principal places are Derrám and Ober: Derrám is upon the road which conducts

from Ayí across the mountains direct into Gílán; it is surrounded with gardens, and contains a third palace built by 'Abda-llah Mírzá. Ober is distant only two miles from Kaukend higher up among the hills; and, as the residence of the hereditary chief, claims to be the present capital of Pushti-kúh.

Zeítúnábád and Gílawán are also considerable villages. The inhabitants of Pushti-kúh are, for the most part, Kurds, of the 'Anberlú division of the great Lúlú tribe. They were settled here by Nádir Sháh, and have now, pretty generally, adopted the language and manners of the Turkish tribes by whom they are surrounded. A great part of them, in common with the Táromís, still adhere to a nomadic life, pitching their tents in winter along the warm valley of the Sefíd rúd; and ascending the mountains in summer, where, in the fine pastures of that elevated region, they mingle with the I'liyát of Massúlá and Gílán. The revenues of Pushti-kúh have lately been assigned, in Tíyúl, to some Turkish dependent of the court, much to the disgust of the hereditary chief, who thus finds his authority over his own ra'yyats altogether annihilated.

16th.—I retraced my steps from Kaukend, down the little glade to the valley of the river, and then kept along the left bank for 14 miles to Gílawán, passing Zeítún-ábád at half way, in a little valley to the left. The road sometimes descends into the bed of the Sefíd rúd, among the dense underwood that fringes its banks; in other parts it follows along the narrow plain between the hills and the river; and sometimes, again, to avoid a bend of the stream, it winds among the extreme prongs of the mountains to the left. Its general line, however, is nearly parallel to that of the river. In Tárom, upon the other side of the Sefíd-rúd, there are a great number of villages among the glades which indent the base of the mountains; and the district appears singularly rich and cheerful.

About 3 miles below Gílawán, a ridge of low hills runs across the valley from one range of mountains to the other. The Sefíd rúd forces its way, by a narrow gorge, through the ridge, and at this point, on an isolated and most precipitous hill upon the right bank, immediately overhanging the river, are the remains of a large and very strong fort, which, from a distance, have a most imposing appearance. The place is called Derbend, and forms the boundary between Táromi-Khelkhál and Táromi-Páyín; the fort is known by the name of Kāl'ehi-Kohne; and, strangely enough, is ascribed by the peasantry, to the Khaliph Omar: it seems of some antiquity, and would be well worth examining. The country about Derbend is so very precipitous and difficult upon the Tárom side of the river, that travellers from Táromi-Páyín to Zenján are obliged to cross into Pushti-kúh, below the

old fort, and then follow up the left bank to the ford, where I had passed over below Kishlák.

From this ridge I kept on for 10 miles farther along the skirts of the mountains, till, at length, I reached the opening of the great Rúdbár pass, where the Sefíd rúd, swoln by the waters of the Sháh rúd, forces its way through the mountains into the low country of Gilán.

In remote antiquity, the mountains to the N. and S. of the vale of the Sefíd rúd, were inhabited by the powerful tribe of the Cadusii. Their proper seat appears to have been Khelkhál and the two Tároms: and, even as late as the eleventh century of Christ, the mountains retained the name of Kádústán.* Modern geographers have wished to identify the Thamneria of Xenophon with the title of Táromeïn;† but I doubt if the name of Tárom is to be found in any Oriental writer before the twelfth century,‡ and the termination, ein, is merely the Arabic dual. Hamdu-llah Mostaufi describes the district minutely, naming the five divisions and all the most considerable villages. The two capitals which he mentions, of upper and lower Tárom, called Shehristán, and Fírúz-abád, are, I believe, now unknown, but the titles of several of the other villages, as Derrám, Kálát, Kelij, &c., remain unchanged to the present day.§

The Sefíd rúd is supposed to represent the Ámardus of the ancient geographers, and, apparently with justice. As early, however, as the fourth century of Christ, it was certainly distinguished in the country by the same title which at present pertains to it; for we cannot doubt that the name Asprudus, which is applied in Peter Patricius to the river of Media, where the Roman ambassador, Sicorius Probus was admitted to a conference with Narses, the Persian king,|| is identical with Asped-rúd—the way in which the name would be written in ancient Persian. The title of Kizil Uzen, which is applied to this river in its early course, and which Rennell, from some fancied similarity of sound supposed to be the same as the Gozan, of Scripture, is a Turkish imposition of modern times. Hamdu-llah states, that the Moghuls, in his day, called the river, Yúlán-múlán,¶ and the present title, therefore, must be of a very recent date.

At the bridge of Menjil, near the opening of the pass, I joined the high road from Kazvín, and thence followed the same line to Resht, which is laid down in the itinerary of Major Todd, published in the eighth volume of the Geographical Journal.

* They are mentioned under this name in the Ashkálu-l-'A'lam of Jéihání.

† See Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex. p. 817.

‡ Yákút is the earliest author in whom I have met with the name.

§ See Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb.

|| See Pet. Patric. in Excerpt. Legat. p. 30.

¶ Noz-hetu-l-Kolúb.



